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**ARAB GEOGRAPHERS
KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTHERN INDIA**

M. H. MUHAMMAD

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GENERAL EDITOR

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., PH.D.,

**THE KNOWLEDGE OF INDIA POSSESSED BY ARAB
GEOGRAPHERS DOWN TO THE 14TH CENTURY A.D.
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN INDIA.**

ARAB GEOGRAPHERS' KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTHERN INDIA

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TO
M. NA'IMUR-RAHMAN
WITH LOVE, VENERATION AND GRATITUDE

FOREWORD

The monograph of Dr. Nainar is the fruit of a courageous undertaking carried out with much ability and crowned with success. He has carefully collected all the references to India and Indian affairs which have been made by early Arab geographers and subjected them to a thoroughly critical study, which has enabled him to determine how far they are related to one another and how far they rest upon independent authority; and in the course of this investigation he has succeeded in making some important corrections in the texts of these authors published by European scholars. This however is only a part of his work, though it is a fundamental part. His next task has been to present all the statements of the geographers in classified order, and to study them in detail. These statements relate to the geography, the history, the social life, and the economic products of India; and on all these subjects Dr. Nainar's observations have thrown much new light. The imperfect knowledge of the Arab geographers and the corruptions which inevitably attend transliteration of foreign words into Arabic script often render the identification of the names of Indian places, men and things extraordinarily difficult; but Dr. Nainar has done much to surmount these obstacles, and his work is one that must be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the study of an important side of Indian antiquities and of Arabic literature.

School of Oriental Studies,
Vandon House, Vandon Street,
London, S.W. 1.
23rd June, 1938.

(Sd.) L. D. BARNETT.

PREFACE

This is the first time an attempt has been made to present a comprehensive survey of the knowledge of India possessed by Arab geographers with special reference to Southern India. A few scattered papers have appeared from time to time, dealing with Arabs' knowledge of Southern India, but nowhere is there to be found any comprehensive account presenting the sum total of all the information given by Arab writers.

In addition to the study of various books, rare Arabic manuscripts, in the libraries of London, Oxford, and Paris, which add to the particulars contained in the published works, notably in those of de Goeje, have been consulted and much original information has been gathered.

The Arabicised forms of South Indian names of places and persons are so varied that it would have been difficult to make progress, but for the writer's knowledge of Southern India and of the Dravidian languages.

This book was presented as a thesis for the University of London (Faculty of Arts) in fulfilment of the requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is the product of two years residence in London, where I started work under the guidance of Prof. H. A. R. Gibb; after his appointment to the Arabic Chair at Oxford, I worked under Sir E. Denison Ross of revered memory. I am deeply indebted to them for their valuable advice and suggestions. I must also express my heartfelt thanks to Prof. A. S. Tritton for his ready help whenever I was in need of it.

I must not forget to acknowledge my gratitude to Miss O. Murray Browne, the Librarian, the School of Oriental Studies, London, for her unfailing courtesy and kindness during the period when I worked in the library.

University Buildings,
Triplicane, Madras,
15th Jan. 1942.

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR.

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INTRODUCTION

What was known of Indian geography and ethnology from the earliest times and during the first ten or fourteen centuries of the Christian era may be found in the following sources :

- (1) Sanskrit authors.
- (2) Greek and Roman geographers.
- (3) Chinese Travellers and Annals.
- (4) The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo.
- (5) Arabic works of travel and biography.

The allusions found in the ancient Hindu writers to the geography of their own land give only suggestions in connection with theological and other disquisitions. Some information, however, can be obtained of the division of the country into different kingdoms from scattered remarks ranging from the Vedic period onwards.¹

The notions of the Greeks as to Indian geography were obtained mostly from hearsay and their geographical conception of the country was erroneous and distorted. The Greek and Latin

1. The Rig Veda—1200 B.C.
The Mahābhārata—5th century B.C.
The Rāmāyaṇa—500 B.C.
The Purāṇas like the Matsya Purāṇa and Vāyu Purāṇa of the 4th century A.D.
The Buddhist Jātakas—4th century B.C.
The Mahāvamśa—5th century¹ A.D.
Varāha Mihira's Brhatsamhitā—6th century A.D.
The works of Kālidāsa, such as the Raghuvaṃśa and the drama, Mālavikāgnimitra—400 A.D.
A. G.—1.

geographers² were mainly concerned with Northern India and make very little mention of the South. Owing, however, to the great deficiency of written records among the Hindus, the information to be derived from Greek and Latin literature is the best available for the period to which it relates.

Chinese travellers³ who visited India from the earliest times have left some account of the country based on their per-

2. The principal Greek and Latin authorities on Ancient Indian Geography are:—

Hecataeus of Miletus	549-486 B.C.
Herodotus	484-425 B.C.
Ctesias	cir. 400 B.C.
Megasthenes	cir. 302 B.C.
Eratosthenes	276-194 B.C.
Hipparchus	150-126 B.C.
Strabo	B.C. 63-25 A.D.
Pliny the elder	23-79 A.D.
Pomponius Mela	cir 43 A.D.
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea	cir 80 A.D.
Arrian	cir 180 A.D.
Marinus of Tyre	2nd century A.D.
Ptolemy	2nd century A.D.
Cosmas Indicopleustes	cir. 560 A.D.

3. The principal Chinese authorities are —

1. Pan-Ku	1st century A.D.
2. General Pan Ying, son of Pan-Chou and nephew of Pan-Ku	2nd century A.D.
3. Fa-Hien	Betw. 399 and 414 A.D.
4. Gunavarman of Kashmir; a Buddhist monk	367-431 A.D.
5. Ma-tuan lin. His account of the embassies of South India, in the sixth century A.D.	6th century A.D.
6. Dharma Gupta—a native of Gujarat, became a monk and went to China in 590 A.D. His memoirs.	d. 619 A.D.
7. Yüan-Chuang.	629-645 A.D.

sonal observations, and the Chinese annals also make mention of India and its products, and of certain embassies sent by South Indian kings to China. Such sources furnish information over a period extending up to the first half of the eighth century A.D.

In addition to the information afforded by the Sanskrit writers and foreigners, a large fund of geographical information can be derived from archaeological research, that is to say from inscriptions found in different localities, from the records in temples, from our knowledge of the peoples, and above all from the literature of the main Indian languages.

For a study of the geography and ethnology of ancient India, therefore, we may consult sources foreign as well as indigenous. The present work confines itself to an examination of the Arabic sources.

It is well known that the commerce of India with Greeks and Arabs was very extensive in the centuries preceding the Christian era. While we can get some idea of the country from the many accounts of the Greek and Roman writers from the 6th century B.C. down to the 6th century A.D., there is naturally a complete absence of any Arab account of this period, though there are sufficient proofs to indicate that the Arabs were conversant from earliest times with Ceylon and the coastal cities of India. But the Arabs' knowledge of India from the pre-Christian era down to the 6th century A.D. is a subject still awaiting the attention of scholars.

8. I-Tsing. He reached India
by the sea route in 671
A.D. and went back the
same way in 685 A.D.
after a ten years' stay at
Nalanda University.

7th century A.D.

9. Kia-Tan the great Chinese
geographer of the 8th
century

8th century A.D.

10. Ma-Huan.

Islam became the religion of the Arabs in the 7th century A.D. This spiritual awakening was accompanied by tremendous consolidation among the Arabs, who were soon attempting to establish their supremacy by overthrowing their two powerful opponents, the Persians in the east and the Romans in the west. The first Muslim invasion of India was in 711 A.D. under the command of Qāsim⁴ from Baṣra, and secured the temporary conquest of Sind. With the advent of Islam came a great impetus for travel, commerce and adventure, which persisted until the 14th century when the Muslims receded into the background and lost their trade supremacy.

During these seven centuries the Muslims were the chief carriers by land as well as by sea. Many books relating to kingdoms, roads by sea and land, the fauna and flora of various countries, came to be written at the instance of the ruling powers and by enthusiastic travellers. There are also many compilations of such information by men of learning and leisure who, induced by love of knowledge of unknown countries, took pains to meet and enquire from many a traveller to distant lands.

There are materials available for this work from about the ninth to the fourteenth century A.D. Greek and Roman sources carry us only to the sixth century A.D., and first-hand Chinese accounts to the middle of the eighth century. After this nothing can be gathered except from Arabic sources until the close of the twelfth century A.D. Then the Sung annals of the Chinese make their appearance and a century later we have Marco Polo's account of his famous voyage. Thus during the intervening period we are restricted exclusively to Arab writers; hence the importance of the present study.

Some recent scholars have consulted Arabic authorities in connection with their study of Indian geography and ethnology, but as yet their conclusions have remained isolated. No attempt has been made hitherto to consolidate the sum total of all the infor-

4. Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Yūsuf Thaqafi, a cousin of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, Governor of Baṣra.

mation that can be obtained from these writers. Hence the present attempt to bridge this gap.

But first it may be advisable to ask ourselves what was the Arabs' conception of India. For there is evidence in their accounts to show that it differed considerably from our idea of India today.

For general purposes the contemporary scholar defines India as Mid-Southern Asia. It falls naturally into two main divisions which form, as it were, two triangles with opposing bases, and show differences in their physical structure. The apex of the northern triangle penetrates deeply into the interior of the Asiatic continent where it is for the most part bordered by lofty mountains while the base is traversed by two great rivers which, rising in these mountains, flow one to the east and one to the west.

The second triangle forms a peninsula surrounded by the sea and contains mountains of moderate elevation, table-lands and a minor river system. Ancient writers regarded the Ganges as the natural division between the North and the South of India. But the moderns, with more reason, divide it into these two triangular portions at a line drawn from the Narbada river on the west to the Mahanadi on the east.

The Arabs, however, had no idea of any divisions of India into North or South. They considered Sind as a separate country and had no clear idea of the geographical extent of the rest of India. Of the many writers only six⁵ give a general description of the country as a whole. This in itself argues some idea on their part of the vastness of the land with its many rivers and mountains.

But these six and the other writers all mention many names of places in India as they understood it. Some are in the north and some in the south, and while the majority lie on the peninsular coast on either side, some are in the interior. A glance at the map in which all these places are marked may give an idea of the India known to the Arabs, which is the field of our study.

5. Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī, Ibnul Faqīh, Mas'ūdī, Qazwīnī, and Abul Fidā.

As the present work is concerned mainly with the Arabs' knowledge of the country south of the Narbada river, the names of places referred to are grouped under three categories, arranged each in alphabetical order. In the text, those places that are definitely known to be in Southern India are given in one list. In another list are included those of doubtful situation. Those that are definitely known to be in the North are included in a third list in the appendix, although in all cases, the places mentioned by Birūnī are not included.

Of the original Arabic works* with which we are dealing, only the account of Sulaymān and those of the writers after 1200 A.D. can be studied in the light of contemporary foreign accounts. The rest stand by themselves and we must accept them at their face value, though a comparative study of these accounts with available indigenous sources may be of great interest.

The accounts of India as gathered from different writers may be classified under the following heads :—

1. Geography.
2. Ethnology.
3. Kings and Kingdoms.
4. Products.

A critical analysis and classification of contents under different heads show that these authors can be gathered under five broad groups, though strict unity cannot be established among writers of one particular group. Eight writers from Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Mas'ūdī and Abul Faraj form one group; Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī another; Birūnī is in a class by himself; five writers from Idrīsī to Abul Fidā form another separate group, and Ibn Baṭṭūta also stands apart.

The information dealt with under ethnology affords ample justification for grouping together the first eight writers. A glance at the analysis of details reveals each writer's connection with the other members of the group, and the absence of this affinity with

* See Appendix A.

the other groups indicates that times have changed and with them the interest of the succeeding writers.

Sulaymān—His Date.

Some forty-four sub-headings under ethnology include nineteen references to Sulaymān, twelve to Abū Zayd, eleven to Mas'ūdī and to Ibnul Faqīh; four to Ibn Rusta and to Ibn Khurdādhbeh and three to Abul Faraj. Sulaymān, Abū Zayd, Mas'ūdī and Ibnul Faqīh may therefore be taken as the chief writers of this group, yet the points mentioned by Sulaymān are often touched upon by Ibnul Faqīh and Mas'ūdī, sometimes by Ibn Rusta, and on rare occasions by Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Abul Faraj. As the avowed purpose of Abū Zayd was to examine, correct and add to Sulaymān's account, he has new information, though occasional similarity is noticed between him and Mas'ūdī.

Apart from the relationship of Sulaymān with the succeeding writers in this group, this author has, nevertheless, some original information which is neither repeated nor confirmed nor refuted by the writers, with the exception of Abū Zayd, who came after him.

All this points to the fact that the account of Sulaymān is the earliest,—the fountainhead of all knowledge of the East for the succeeding generation of writers and readers in Arabic.

This account of Sulaymān is contained in the *Silsilat-al-Tawārikh*, which was edited and printed by Langles, in Paris, in the year 1811 A.D. from the only manuscript known to exist in Europe. This printed volume consists of two parts: the first part (pp. 1—59) is believed to be the account of Sulaymān, and the second part (pp. 60—147) is without doubt the composition of a certain Abū Zayd.

A close study of the book inclines one to ask the following questions :

(1) Is the first part, the work of a single traveller ? (2) Is it by Sulaymān ? (3) Is the title "*Silsilat-al-Tawārikh*" a correct one ? (4) Does the 'First book' (الكتاب الأول) with the date

237 A.H. mentioned by Abū Zayd in the opening of his account⁶ refer to pp. 1—59 of the printed volume?

Although the examination of these issues does not strictly fall within the scope of the present study, a few observations may not here seem out of place and they may form the basis for future research.

A careful study of the first part (pp. 1—59) will show that the authorities are quoted in three different forms, in the third person plural five times,⁷ first person singular five times,⁸ and first person plural three times.⁹ There is no indication in the text as to the identity of the individuals quoted. Sulaymān's name is mentioned only once,¹⁰ followed by an account, consisting of ten lines, of the Muslim *qāzī* in *Khānfū* (Canton). Then in the last line of the same page the "informant" changes, and the long narrative which follows, is put in the third person plural. After this we do not find Sulaymān's name mentioned anywhere, nor any other evidence to suggest that he is the narrator in the whole account.¹¹

6. See text, p. 60.

7. See text, pp. 14, 22, 23.

8. See text, pp. 49, 51, 52, 55, 57.

9. See text, pp. 30, 45, 46.

10. See text, p. 14, line 4.

11. On page 13, "Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine," Ferrand says:

"Le texte du manuscrit No. 2281 comprend deux livres. Le livre I a été rédigé par Sulaymān lui-même ou par un scribe inconnu d'après les récits du Marchand Sulaymān, qui effectue plusieurs voyages en Inde et en Chine. A la page 51 du texte édité par Langles, il est dit que Sulaymān revit un faqir dans un endroit de l'Inde où il l'avait vu une première fois seize ans auparavant."

ومنهم العريان فقد رأيت رجلا منهم كما وصفت ثم انصرفت
وعدت بعد ست عشرة سنة فرائته على تلك الحال فتعجبت كيف لم تسفل
عينه من حر الشمس

p. 51, Text.

As the sentence is formed in the first person singular, Ferrand thinks that it must refer to Sulaymān. But this passage occurs on p. 51 while the actual mention of the name of Sulaymān is on p. 15. In the intervening thirty-seven

But a reading of these fifty-nine pages will convince anyone that the account is only a report from various persons, who may have travelled at different periods and have given currency to their respective knowledge and experience. The contents of the book also justify such a conclusion. There is a good deal of general information on the seas, the islands, the sea route from Sīrāf to China, a description of the habits, government, religion, social customs, and national or tribal characteristics of the Chinese and the Indians. These details are given in the form of a report, a collection of facts and fancies which could have been gathered from merchants, travellers, sailors and adventurous men, rather than the genuine account of a single traveller. Nor were facilities lacking for the collection of such information. Sīrāf¹² was a commercial port of

pages the person of the narrative is changed many times. It is inconsistent with known conventions of the Arabic writing to connect these two passages with the same source.

12. Sīrāf, is a town in Persia, on the Persian Gulf which flourished from the fourth to the tenth century. The houses, of several storeys, were built of teak and other woods brought from Zangbār; it was supplied with water from springs tapped in the mountain Djamī which dominates it from close at hand. The creation of an emporium on the island of Qays ruined it by taking away its Indian trade. It had no adequate harbour, and the ships used to moor in an arm of the sea eight miles off, to be sheltered from the wind.

The inhabitants were engaged in sea-trade and were sometimes absent from home for years; they had amassed great wealth by dealing in spices and other merchandise. They had built sumptuous houses but they were noted for their voluptuousness and lack of serious thought. Sīrāf was also the warmest place in the district, so hot, indeed, that one could not take a siesta there. Under the 'Abbāsides it was the principal town of the district of Ardāshir-Khurra; it began to decline under the Būyids; destroyed by an earthquake which lasted seven days in 366 or 367 A.H. (977 A.D.); it was afterwards rebuilt. Its ruins may be seen at Bandar Tāhīrī.

A legend says that the mythical king Kai-Kā'ūs when he tried to ascend the heavens, fell down in this country and asked for water and milk to be brought him; this story has been invented to justify a popular etymology (Persian—*shīr*—'milk', *āb*—'water'). According to Yāqūt, the merchants pronounced its name *Shīlāw*, which is connected with the above etymology. Mention is also made of a spring of fresh water which existed here at the bottom of the sea.—*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 444.

great importance; ships from India and the East Indies came up to its quays, and amidst such a concourse of traders and trade news from ends of the world, anyone who had the imagination could have composed an account bringing in all information current then whether new or old. The fact that Abū Zayd who examined the first book never mentions Sulaymān's name, should not be lost sight of. Nor do we find reference to his name in the writings of succeeding writers except in the book of Ibnul Faqīh who quotes Sulaymān only once for the account of the sea route from Sirāf to China.¹³ But in the first book of *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* the authority for this statement is not Sulaymān. The information about the sea-route, in some respects more ample than that quoted by Ibnul Faqīh, is given in the third person plural.¹⁴ Ibnul Faqīh's attribution of it to Sulaymān is probably due to the fact that it immediately follows the passage on the Muslim *qāzī* at Khānfū which is given on the authority of Sulaymān. It may be observed also that in certain details¹⁵ *Kitāb-al-Buldān* of Ibnul Faqīh in the edition edited by de Geoe seems to be inaccurate and incomplete. Even if it is granted, however, that Sulaymān is the narrator of the whole account of sea route from Sirāf to China and that this forms a part of his very meagre narrative, it cannot be held as sufficient basis for the belief that he is the author of the whole of the first part (pp. 1—59).¹⁶

13. See *Kitāb al-Buldān*-Ibnul Faqīh, pp. 11-13.

14. *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh*, pp. 14-21.

15. Ibnul Faqīh who generally follows the first book of *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* says (pp. 15-16) that the people of Hind believe that the origin of their books is from Qumār. This is contrary to the statement in *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* which says (p. 57): 'The Chinese have no sciences. In fact their religion was derived from Hind. They believe that the people of Hind erected idols for them. They also consider them as people of religion.' In his *Kitāb āthar-al-Bilād* (p. 69) Qazwīnī quotes Ibnul Faqīh for his information on the punishment for drinking in the kingdom of Qumār, but this is not found in de Geoe's edition of Ibnul Faqīh.

16. It is on this passage in Ibnul Faqīh (p. 11) that Ferrand bases his argument that Sulaymān is the narrator in the whole book of the first part of *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh*. See *Notes de Géographie Orientale* par Ferrand—*Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Mars, 1923.

It may also be noticed that the fact Abū Zayd was commissioned to examine the reports is possibly the best argument against this work being the narrative of a single traveller.

What then was the title of the book placed in the hands of Abū Zayd for purposes of examination? As the title of Abū Zayd's account is "The second book of the Reports on China and Hind,"¹⁷ the natural presumption is that the first book also had that name.¹⁸ The authority on which Langles, the editor of the manuscript, arrived at the present title "سلسلة التواريخ" (Chain of chronicles) is that of a former owner of the manuscript who supplied the place of the missing pages with a few introductory sentences. This title would however lead one to expect a work of history, which might of course contain much other information.

Abū Zayd says: "I found the date of the (first) book as 237 A.H." (851 A.D.). Which is that book? If it refers to the first book as it stands in print, we do not find therein any mention of that date. It is true, on the other hand, that the first pages of the only known manuscript are missing. Thus in the absence of more positive evidence the conclusion that the date found by Abū Zayd relates to pp. 1—59 of the printed volume must remain only a conjecture. Assuming that it is the book intended by Abū Zayd the question arises whether the date refers to the date of actual composition or the date of the copy. Here again clear evidence is lacking to establish that the year 237 A.H. refers to the date of composition.

These considerations incline me to the view that there must have been some book, a compendium of different accounts by various travellers and navigators of different periods including Sulaymān, compiled by some writer whose name and date are not known. It served as a source book of information on the east for subsequent writers, because great similarity is noticeable between the

17. الكتاب الثاني من أخبار الصين والهند Text, p. 60.

18. This view is already expressed by Reinaud in his *Discours Preliminnaire* to the translation, p. XII.

facts mentioned in this book known to us, and those in the works of later writers such as Ibnul Faqih, Mas'ūdī and others. It must have also held the imagination of the people at large as the *Arabian Nights* of a later period, and truly one does not fail to see in it the precursor of the wonderful stories of *A Thousand and One Nights*. Hence the Book I (pp. 1—59) of *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* edited by Langlés may be taken to represent the knowledge possessed by the Arabs from the earliest times prior to 851 A.D., and for convenience will be referred to as the account of 'Sulaymān' in the course of this work.

FIRST GROUP

Eight writers from Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Mās'ūdī and Abul-Faraj form the first group.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, 844—848. A.D.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, in his book draws up official notices of the principal trade routes, gives here and there passages of general interest, has a chapter on the East and on the Eastern route to the farthest point known. He is the first author to describe with a fair degree of accuracy the leading cities on the west coast of India, even mentioning Conjeevaram on the east coast. As Director of Posts and Police in Media he had great facilities for ascertaining details about each particular he wanted to discuss. The suspicion that he might have had access to Sulaymān is partially confirmed when we read of his account of the Balharā. Sulaymān was the first writer who stated that the 'Balharā' is the title common to every member of that line of sovereigns, like the title Kisrā and such titles and that it is not a proper name. Ibn Khurdādhbeh takes up this point and develops it further, adding more details quite in accordance with his professional calling. Sulaymān says that the kingdom of the Balharā begins from the sea coast, comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, perhaps wishing to remove the vagueness of Sulaymān, says simply that the Balharā resides in Kamkam, and gives the additional information that teak is grown in Kamkam.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh has also other sources. He quotes Jāḥiẓ and various travellers. He gives the description of the pepper plant as he heard of it from the navigators.

Ya'qūbī, 875 or 880 A.D.

Ya'qūbī, as he himself says, started making his enquiries about various places and distances from an early age. Thus he writes mostly from knowledge gained by enquiry. He quotes from works of other writers. His information on South India is vague and meagre, but his *Fragmenta* gives information on products.

Ibnul Faqīh, 902 A.D.

Ibnul Faqīh mostly follows *Sulaymān* and occasionally quotes 'Abdullāh-ibn-'Amr-ibn al-'Āṣ.

Ibn Rusta—vers, 903 A.D.

Ibn Rusta may have had access to the writings of *Sulaymān* and Ibn Khurdādhbeh. This can be ascertained from a reading of his account of the *Balharā*. He also quotes some writers by name, as *Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ishāq*¹⁹ and others without mentioning their names. He gives also some information not mentioned by anyone previously.

Abū Zayd, 950 A.D.

Abū Zayd, the nephew of the governor of *Sirāf* originally undertook the simple task of reading, revising, and re-issuing the book supposed to be the account of *Sulaymān*. As he lived long after *Sulaymān*, he is naturally led into a compilation of a supplementary account in which he corrects some mistakes of the older narratives and also records fresh accounts of travellers like *Ibn Wahab*, besides including other details which he acquired by reading and questioning travellers to various countries. *Abū Zayd* was a contemporary and friend of *Mas'ūdī* who had far better knowledge, however. There are several parallels between the accounts of the two writers. *Mas'ūdī* met *Abū Zayd* in 303 A.H. and he acknowledges having derived information from him, though *Abū Zayd* never

19. See note on p. 175 in this book.

mentions Mas'ūdī by name, but refers to him as a 'trustworthy person'.

Mas'ūdī—943 and 955 A.D.

Unlike the writers mentioned so far, Mas'ūdī was a great traveller. He visited successively Persia, India, Ceylon, the lands of Central Asia from Ferghana to the Caspian, the countries of Northern Africa, Spain and various parts of the Greek or Eastern Empire. He is generally reckoned to be an excellent observer and a first-rate collector and transmitter of curious lore. But his account of India, particularly of Southern India, does not give special indication of his originality. As a traveller he has acquired a great deal of original information, yet he identifies himself too much with Sulaymān's account. He also says that he met Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan, of whom he speaks as a 'a man of much information and intelligence', and learnt about the travels of Ibn Habbār and many other details. Abū Zayd also was benefitted by the information supplied by Mas'ūdī.

The great similarity between the accounts of Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī suggests that the latter might have had a copy of the so-called *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh* and incorporated some of these points into his own book with other details which he had gathered from his travels. At the same time it is clear that Mas'ūdī did not blindly follow that book; for, he has given definite information on points common to himself and Sulaymān. For example Mas'ūdī does not say that the title 'Balharā' means 'king of kings'. But despite such instances, Mas'ūdī lacks independence and it is regrettable that he has repeated so many of the facts mentioned by Sulaymān. From such a traveller we should expect clear information, and in this respect he is disappointing.

Abul Faraj—988 A.D.

Abul Faraj has given us more original information on idols and on various religious sects than any other writer before or after him. He quotes the work of al-Kindī. He mentions some men by name, such as Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq, Abu Dulaf Yanbū'ī; other authorities are cited without name but are qualified as 'trustworthy men' and he gives facts ascertained from mendi-

cants. As his information is chiefly concerned with ethnology, he is grouped with the writers who deal principally with this. Apart from this, there is no justification for bringing him into this group as he is quite independent of these writers.

Thus the knowledge of the writers of this period—from about the ninth century A.D. to the middle of the tenth century A.D.—on India does not appear to be very superior from the point of view of geography, though their facts on ethnology afford interesting reading.

SECOND GROUP

The second group of writers includes *Iṣṭakhri*, *Ibn Ḥawqal* and *Maqdisi*. Their period (10th century) coincides with the domestic revolution which transferred the military power of the 'Abbāsides to their Turkish mercenaries. Though the political coherence and persistence of the Arab race had already begun to wane, its intellectual vigour did not slacken. After this period the leadership of scientific interests, especially geographical, now falls more and more into the hands of strangers from foreign countries, men who were not Arabs by blood, who were indeed religious but not political subjects of the Caliph. *Bīrūnī*, the greatest geographer of the next group is a client of the Sultan *Maḥmūd* of Ghazna, and a Persian by race. It is during this period that we observe the development of a literary geographical school which was to exert a lasting influence on succeeding generations of writers, Muslim as well as Christian. Arab and Muslim writers of this period were steadily becoming more and more scientific and thorough as the contents of their books indicate. Though their works are still based to a large extent on those of the earlier writers, yet they are enriched by the knowledge gained by later conquests and greater intercourse with foreign countries. Most of the writers of this era were travellers themselves. But the members of this group are distinguished from those of the foregoing one in that they paid very little attention to non-Muslim countries, such as the countries and islands in the far east, or to the various legendary stories. Thus we miss in their writings the details which we can gather from *Sulaymān* and later from *Maṣ'ūdī* and *Abul Faraj* on the Indians, their habits, customs,

religion and religious sects. Again the lack of interest in non-Muslim countries explains the scanty information on India that we can obtain from these writers. They speak mostly of Sind, and Hind indeed is given a subordinate place in their writings and is dealt with under the chapter on Sind.

Iṣṭakhrī—950 A.D.

Iṣṭakhrī shows his acquaintance with the works of previous writers, but offers new information on the points touched on by older writers and thus testifies to the spirit of the new age.

Ibn Ḥawqal—975 A.D.

Ibn Ḥawqal follows *Iṣṭakhrī* in all points, even in the plan of discussing Hind under the section on Sind. But, at times, he is content to repeat previous writers. 'The title *Balharā* is a common title' is not found in *Iṣṭakhrī* but in *Sulaymān* and *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*.

Maqdisī—985 A.D.

Maqdisī also is indebted to some of his predecessors such as *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, yet he seems to be more independent. He does not mention the *Balharā* at all. From his account of *Wayhind* (*Wohind*) we understand that he gathers his information from wandering *faqīrs* and travellers who had actually visited these places and whom he believed to be trustworthy.

THIRD GROUP

Bīrūnī—973—1048. A.D.

Though *Bīrūnī* is one of the best writers of the tenth century whose characteristic feature has been noticed under the second group of writers, yet he must be considered as in a class by himself. He has nothing in common with the Muslim writers of his period. His works are far ahead of those of his predecessors. His famous description of India is unparalleled. He is not surpassed in the field of his study by anyone either before or after him. He is independent in his thoughts about religion and philosophy. He always comes forward courageously as a champion of his own convictions. His interests in India, Indian science, especially Indian philosophy and the general tendencies in his works were the chief causes that hindered the study of *Bīrūnī* by the succeeding generation.

Bīrūnī is left out in the present scheme of study for the following reasons. He is not referred to by the writers coming after him until the time of Abul Fidā. Even he refers only to his *Qānūn* for the purpose of quoting longitudes and latitudes. Secondly his works on India have been most ably translated and published by Dr. Sachau. Finally, the most important reason is that his works on India contain only a sketch of South India and the Southern sea. He has no information on the people of South India, their religion and culture. He is particularly silent on Saivism and Vaishnavism, the two great religious sects of the extreme south of the Indian peninsula.

FOURTH GROUP

The writers from Idrīsī to Abul Fidā form the fourth group of writers.

The years preceding the time of Idrīsī were less brilliant; they witnessed events which disturbed the ideal unity of the Islamic world. Its eastern half was invaded about 1050 A.D. by the Seljuq Turks, while in the west, the island of Sicily, a greater portion of Spain and a few places on the African coast were conquered by the Christian rulers. Thus the Islamic world lost its political strength, though this reappeared for a short while in the struggle against the Crusaders.

Idrīsī—1154 A.D.

The most brilliant author in this group is Idrīsī. He wrote his book on geography at the instance of King Roger of Sicily who had sent in all directions for information to be incorporated in his study. He cites in his preface the various authors²⁰ whose works he had employed in the compilation of the book. As Idrīsī wrote under royal patronage he had great opportunities. He had ample facilities

20.

کتاب الجغایب للمسعودی - کتاب ابی نصر سعید الجیهانی - کتاب ابی القاسم عبد الله ابن خردادبه
کتاب احمد بن العدری - کتاب ابی القاسم محمد الحوقلی - کتاب جاناخ بن خاقان - کتاب موسی بن قاسم
کتاب احمد بن یعقوب - کتاب اسحق بن الحسن - کتاب قدامه البصری - کتاب بطليموس الاقلودی -
کتاب ارسطوس الانطاکی

for gathering information. He might, therefore, have composed a work with greater critical judgment. Unhappily his mental outlook was strictly limited by the spirit of his age. He simply repeats Ibn Khurdādhbeh in his statement about the caste system of Indians, with few alterations. Perhaps the same system might have continued from the time of Ibn Khurdādhbeh to Idrīsī. But it is highly doubtful whether the kingdoms and the line of kings in India, especially in South India had remained intact since the days of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and his group of writers. Idrīsī repeats the Balharā story as found in the first group of authors with, as usual, some additional information. Ibn Khurdādhbeh lived in the ninth century. Idrīsī worked at the court of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily (1101-1154). The early history of South India shows, during these periods, great changes in kingdoms and the line of kings. But the accounts of these kings by the Arab writers like Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Mas'ūdī and Idrīsī who lived in different times from about the ninth to the twelfth centuries A.D. do not change. The same Balharā, the king of kings, originally stated by Sulaymān, is retained in the accounts of the Arab authors right up to Idrīsī's time and to some extent even to the period of Dimishqī. Idrīsī never pauses for a moment to consider whether the statements made by his predecessors were correct and whether they are current and true in his time. Instead he models his accounts on his predecessors though he always gives a certain amount of additional information. Hence it is difficult to find much to praise in his work, although it contains ample information.

A study of Idrīsī's account of India shows that he is dependent to a great extent on his predecessors, especially the first group of writers whom he amplifies with greater details but without critical analysis. Further he does not give much proof of his knowledge of the Iṣṭakhri group and he does not seem to have known Birūnī's works.

Yāqūt—1179-1229 A.D.

Yāqūt has compiled his big geographical dictionary which contains all geographical names in alphabetical order, and its interest

is both geographical and biographical. The portions that pertain to India show that they are chiefly based upon the account of Abū Dulaf. Yāqūt is peculiarly interesting in the present study in that he is the first to give us the names 'Malibār' and 'Ma'bar', though the name 'Manibar' is already known to us through Idrīsī.

Qazwīnī—1203-1283 A.D.

Qazwīnī is the author of a cosmography and geography. His accounts show that he follows Yāqūt for the most part quoting the same source, Abū Dulaf. Sometimes he takes information from Ibnul Faqīh, a writer of the first group. Thus the facts we learn from Sulaymān to Idrīsī are not found in these two writers who have more in common between them, and give new information.

Dimishqī—vers 1325 A.D.

Dimishqī is a better and more original geographer. There are references in his book to the works of Mas'ūdī, Ibn Hawqal and Yāqūt, yet his account contains some amplifications, as does Idrīsī's, but unlike the latter author, he does not enlarge the points mentioned by the earlier writers. He has totally new names of places, and accounts not found in any of the previous writers. Indeed his list of place names on the west coast is the biggest. He is the first to divide Ma'bar into small and big Ma'bars. On the whole he shows clear conceptions of Guzarat, Malabar and Ma'bar, though there is some confusion in his account of Guzarat. Dimishqī does not seem to have known the earliest works, like that of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, for he does not mention Sandān, nor associate Kamkam with teak,—facts which were so popular with earlier writers. He does not show acquaintance with Idrīsī's works.

The above considerations show that Dimishqī is more original and painstaking in collecting information from various sources. The references in his book to a large number of the works of other writers give us an idea of the sources of his information.

Abul Fidā—1273-1331 A.D.

The works of Abul Fidā, though well-known, are based upon earlier works. He derives his information on India chiefly from

Ibn Sa'id, Idrīsī, 'Azīzī²¹ and Bīrūnī and from various travellers. He quotes longitudes and latitudes from the *qānūn*²² and *aṭwāl*.²³

It may be observed in conclusion that, of the five writers in this group, Idrīsī and Dimishqī are the only two who give additional information on India.

FIFTH GROUP

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa—vers 1355 A.D.

The geographical literature produced subsequent to the last group of writers cannot claim any great originality except for personal accounts of travellers which had become more numerous by this time. The best known in connection with our study is that of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who journeyed all over the Muslim world and farther eastward to Ceylon and the Maldives.

By the time we come to know Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, we have the accounts of many European travellers to the East. A study of the Arabic sources alone for the account of the geography and history of South India will not therefore be very beneficial. For this reason the works of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa are not included in the present study though the materials furnished by him have been used to advantage wherever necessary.

21. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī (4th century) composed his book *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* for the Fāṭimide 'Azīz billah. It is, therefore, also known as *Kitāb-al-'Azīzī*. Otto Spies: *An Arab account of India in the fourteenth century*, p. 12.

22. *Al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* by Bīrūnī (died 448 A.H./1056 A.D.). The *qānūn* is the most valuable work for astronomy and geography written in the middle ages. Bīrūnī was the first who fixed the longitudes and latitudes of towns with a degree of accuracy which, when the names are transferred to maps, gives us a picture of the country concerned.

23. *Kitāb al-Aṭwāl*, the author of which is not known. Ḥajjī Khālifa II, (263 A.H.), does not mention him either, but points out that the greatest part of information given in the book is wrong and incorrect according to the statement of Bīrūnī. The book is made use of by Abul Fidā. See Otto Spies, pp. 11, 13.

CHAPTER I
GEOGRAPHY



GEOGRAPHY

(a) GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Six writers, Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī, Ibnul Faqīh, Mas'ūdi, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā, give a general description of the country as a whole, but the details they supply have nothing in common among them, though Ibnul Faqīh follows Sulaymān in saying that Hind is more extensive than China.

It is evident from all these accounts that the Arabs considered Sind as a separate country and not as a part of India, and that for them 'Hind' included all the islands in the East Indies.

Sulaymān :

The country of Hind is more extensive than China, several times bigger than that, but China is more populous. The rivers of these two countries are big and some are bigger than our rivers. There are many deserts in Hind, but in China it is cultivable everywhere.

Ya'qūbī :

The world is divided into seven *iqḷims*. The first *iqḷim* is Hind.¹ Its boundary on the east is the sea and the land of China and it extends as far as Daybul, on the side of 'Irāq, up to the strait of the sea, which is between India and the Ḥijāz.

Ibnul Faqīh :

Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al 'Ās² says that the image of the earth is composed of five limbs..... The right wing is Hind. The

1. 2. Ḥijāz. 3. Miṣr. 4. 'Irāq. 5. Rūm. 6. Hag and Magog.
7. China.

2. Compare:—

ومثل العمود بصورة طائر راسه الصين والجناح الايمن الهند والسند
والجناح الايسر الخزر وصدره مكة والعراق والشام ومصر وذنبه الغرب

Nuwayrī—Nihāyat-al-Arab, Vol. I, p. 208.

country of Hind is more extensive than China, several times bigger than that, but China is more populous.

Mas'ūdī :

Hind is a vast country, having many seas and mountains. It borders on the country of Zābaj (Java), the kingdom of the Mahārāj, who is the king of the islands and whose dominions separate Hind and China, and are considered as part of Hind.

Hind extends, on the side of the mountains, to *Khurāsān* and Sind as far as Tibet. Then comes the coast of Sind wherein is Daybul from which begins the coast of Hind up to the country of Barūz; thence one uninterrupted coast stretches as far as China, partly cultivated, partly waste.

Qazwīnī :

Hind is a vast country containing many wonderful things. It extends for a three months' journey in length and two months' in width. It has many mountains and rivers. It is associated with very good vegetation and wonderful animals. Merchants only touch the coastal land, and hardly anyone from our country has reached the interior. Hind and Sind are said to be two brothers of the son of Tawqir ibn Yaqūn ibn Ḥām ibn Nūh.³

Abul Fidā :

Hind : Its boundaries are on the west, the sea of Fārs, which ends with the limits of Sind and adjoining lands; on the south, the Indian Ocean; on the east, the deserts which separate Hind from China; and on the north the land of the Turks.

Some navigators say that Hind consists of Jazrāt, Manibār and Ma'bar.

3. This is a typical Arab invention. The Arabs, a wandering race, with no ties to any particular land or country, are united primarily by a general pride in their tribe. They naturally imagine that the name of every country is that of the tribe and are at great pains to discover the genealogy and the patriarch of the tribe.

(b) LIST OF PLACES IN SOUTHERN INDIA

*Abātū*⁴:

Dimishqī mentions this as one of the seven places in the big Ma'bar.

*Akāntī*⁵:

Dimishqī mentions this place as one of the cities on the west coast before Sūbāra.

*Bābattan*⁶:

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Those who follow the way by land from Bullin will reach Bābattan in two days. Rice is produced here and

4. *أباطو* Paris *ابامو* (foot-note in Mehren's edition).

R. If any value could be attached to the order in which these places are mentioned by *Dimishqī*, *Abātū* should be sought for before Tondi in Palk's bay.

Perhaps it may be identified with *Adirāmpattanam*, seven miles south-east of Pattukōttai in the north-west corner of Palk's Bay and at the western end of the great mud swamp that extends as far as Point Calimere.

The Tanjore District Gazetteer (Vol. I, p. 251) says that the name *Adirāmapattanam* is a contraction of *Ati-vira-rāma-pattanam*, the place having been founded by the Pāndyan king *Ativira-Rāman* (1562-7). It need not be supposed from this statement that the place is of later growth. It might have been an important port before and hence attracted the attention of the Pāndyan king. Even to this day it is an important sea-port and trading town. The trade is chiefly with Ceylon.

5. *اکاستی* R. It may be near Bombay.

6. *بابتن*

Compare: "At Balbun the route divides; following the shore it takes two days to reach Bās, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandip. From Bās to Sajī and 'Askān is two days' journey." *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*—Elliot, Vol. 1, pp. 15-16.

R. For a discussion of the place, see under *Buddfattān*.

A. G.—4.

is exported to Sarandīb, (Ceylon). From Bābattan⁷ to Sinjli and Kabashkān is one day's distance.

*Banī-Batan*⁸:

Ibn-Hawqal mentions Banī-batan as one of the cities of Hind after Saymūr.

*Barqalī*⁹:

Dimishqī says that the city of Barqalī is situated at the mouth of the river al-Kank¹⁰ on the coast of the sea.

7. Bābattan بابتن Text, p. 63. F. Note (g) A.h.I. بابتن
mox s. p., B. utroque loco باس. Quamquam scripserit Sprenger p. 81.
(Am 23 August befanden wir uns Bās gegenuber) tamen non dubium
est, eum ita scripsisse conjectura. Nam abbreviatio est nominis quod Cos-
mas scribit Pudopetana, Conte Buffetania (Beudifetania) vid. Yule, *Cathay*,
p. 448, 453. Apud Edrisī I, 179, 184 respondet جرباق apud Nowairi
(Ajaibul-Hind, ed. v.d. Lith. p. 281) جارباق 1 خارباق, apud
Ibn Batuta IV, 82 جرفتن qui tamen non idem locus est, sed vicinus.
Fortasse a nostro non differt برستن (Ajaibul Hind, p. 276). Dimaschki 173,
5 a f. habet بدفتان et paullo ante جرفتان.

Ferrand has omitted this place.

"Bās" Elliot, p. 16.

8. الملطان "I hujus loco ملتان habet. Gildemeister nomen
componit cum urbe Malabarica منيفتن (Abul Fida) Potius conferatur
دين Dji Numa p. 196, 8 a.f., 199, 3." Ibn. Hawqal p. 227 f. note (h).

R. See under *Buddfattān*.

See Ibn Hawqal, p. 227 and foot note.

9. برقلی.

10. The river Ganges. Evidently it is a mistake on the part of *Dimishqī* to bring in the Ganges to the South.

R. Barqalī may be identified with *Bhatkal* or *Susagadi*, twenty-five miles south of Honawar. The town is about three miles from the mouth of the river, which at high water is navigable by boats of a half to two tons. No vessels but coasters visit the port. The want of good

*Barūṣ*¹¹ :

Four writers, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī, Yāqūt and Dimishqī, make mention of the place Barūṣ.¹²

Mas'ūdī: From Daybul begins the coast of Hind up to the country of Barūṣ whence the Barūṣī qanna¹³ has its name.

Idrīsī gives more detailed information. Barūj is in the second climate; it is a large, handsome town, well-built of bricks and plaster. The inhabitants possess great perseverance; they are rich and engaged in trade; they freely enter upon speculations and embark on distant expeditions. Bārūj is a port for vessels coming from China as it is also for those from Sind.

communications with Mysore and the country above the Ṣahyadris has driven away trade. Though the town is now in a state of decay, no town on the Canara coast shows more signs of prosperity in the past. None have such well-walled gardens and houses, strong and extensive embankments and so many remains of carved masonry. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, pt. II, pp. 266-67.

In 1321 A.D. Friar Jordanus notices after the Kingdom of Maratha, a Saracen king of Batigala. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, pt. II, p. 271.

11. *بروض* Mas'ūdī
بروج - بروض Idrīsī Ms. Gr. 42 *بروض*
بروض Yāqūt
بروض Dimishqī
بروض - ويقال بروج } Nuwayrī, pt. I, p. 237.
والله ينسب القماش

Barūh (Barūch/Broach) and Barūs—Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 86-7.

R. This is identified with Broach.

12. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukachchha, the modern Broach; and the merchandise brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cotton, muslins, mallow, coloured cottons and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the West. *Early History of the Dekkan*—Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, 1895, p. 42.

13. Cinnabar—Mas'ūdī—Sprenger.

From Barūj to Saymūr is a two days' journey, while the distance to Nahrwārah¹⁴ is eight *marḥalas*¹⁵ by land. Opposite the sea-port town of Barūj lies the island Malaq ملق¹⁶ which produces pepper in large quantities. From this island to Sandān is two days' journey. From Barūj along the coast to Sindābūr is four *marḥalas*.¹⁷

Yāqūt: The gulf which begins after Kanbāya extends as far as Barwaṣ, a big city.

Dimishqī: The city Barūṣ has a vast territory with four thousand villages. It is situated on a bay where the tide ebbs and flows, which extends for two days' journey. There is an abundant supply of pepper and bamboos here.

Thus it seems apparent that the accounts of these four writers have little in common between them.

*Bāsrūr*¹⁸:

Abul Fidā: From Hannūr to Bāsrūr, a small town, and behind Bāsrūr is Manjarūr.

14. The journey to Nehrwarāh lies through flat country where people travel in carriages on wheels. In all Nehrwarāh and its environs there is no other mode of travelling except in chariots drawn by oxen under the control of a driver. These carriages are fitted with harness and are used for the carriage of goods. Between Barūj and Nehrwarāh there are two towns one called Hanāwal, the other Dūlaqa. Dūlaqa is on the banks of a river which flows into the sea, forming an estuary, on the west of which stands Barūj, the name of which is also pronounced Barūz. *Idrisi Mss.*

15. 'Eight days,' Elliot, Vol. I, p. 87.

16. ملق Idrīsī Ms. Gr. 42, Bodleian Library.

"Mullan" Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

17. 'four days', Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

18. باسرور

R. It is Bēsrūr, the Kanarese Basuri, "the town of the waved-leaf fig tree." (Hobson-Jobson, p. 45).

Bāsrūr is at a distance of four miles from Coondapoor, east. It was

*Biyyardāwal*¹⁹ :

Abul Fidā : *Biyyardāwal* is the *qaṣba* of Ma'bar ; it is a city where the Sultan of Ma'bar resides. Horses are imported here from other countries.

*Buddfattān*²⁰ :

After *Jurfattan*, *Dimishqī* mentions *Dahfattān* and *Buddfattān*.

once a large walled town with a fort and temple and is mentioned as an important trading place by all the geographers, Arabs and others by the names of Bracalor, Brazzalor, Bracelor, Bacelor, and as Abu-sarur by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. It is interesting to note that *Abul Fidā* has used the correct form.

Though now almost deserted, the walls and watergates of the city still remain in a good state of preservation.

A Rāni of Bāsrūr is mentioned by *Ferishta* as having paid her respects to Sankara Nayak, a Yādhava king of Dēvagiri, early in the 14th century. In the sixteenth century, Coondapoor or lower Bāsrūr became a possession of the Portuguese, and early in the eighteenth century a Dutch factory was also established there.

Bāsrūr is also supposed by some to be the Barace of Pliny.

See *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 242 ; *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 73 ; *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, p. 226.

19. بَیْرَدَاوَل

R. see under Ma'bar.

20. بَدَّ فَتَّان p. 173. Foot-note on the same page : "Les trois mnsrts. om., les deux noms sont écrits dans le mnsrt. de Par دَهِینان et برتَقَتَن

بَابَتَن *Ibn Khurdādhbeh.*

بنی بَتَن *Ibn Hawqal,*

بَدَّ فَتَّان *Dimishqī,*

R. It is Valarapattanam, or Baliapatam or Azhikkal, a thriving Mappilla town, five miles from Cannanore on the coast road, a minor port.

*Bullīn*²¹:

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Bullīn is reached after two days' journey from Mulay. At Bullīn, the way parts into two, one continuing by sea and the other by land. Those who follow the way by land from Bullīn will reach Bābattan, proceeding thence to Sinjlī and Kabashkān, to Kūdāfarīd, to Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja, to Samandar, to Ūrnashīn and finally to Abīna.

of some importance, and a station on the South Indian Railway. It is situated on the south bank of the river of the same name close to its mouth.

The town is rich in Malayalam and Mapilla traditions. Vallabha Perumāl, the eleventh of the Perumāls, here found a *lingam* and built a shrine over it and a fort to protect it on the banks of the Neytāra, as the river was then called. Valarapattanam was his chosen seat and the residence appointed by him for the kings of Kerala. In Chēramān Perumāl's time it was, with Trikkariyūr and Tirunāvāyai, one of the three holy places of Malabar. Subsequently it became one of the principal places of the Kōlattiri Rāja. *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 399, Chirakkal Taluk. See foot-notes under Bābattan and Banibattan.

Yule who discusses at length the medieval ports of Malabar indicates with some accuracy the locality, but he is not definite in his conclusions. He says, "the name is not found in modern maps, but it must have been near the Waddakarre of Keith Johnston's." See Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 76-77.

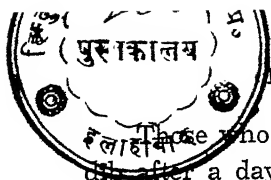
We learn from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Jurfattan, Dahfattan and Budfattan were under the sway of Kuwayl one of the most powerful sultans of Malabar.

21. Text p. 63. بَلِين . Foot note (c) Sic A.h.l.c. voc., mox
 بَلِين et بَلِين B.h.l. بَلِين infra. بَلِين
 Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh—p. 15. "From Mali to Balbun is 2 days' journey." Foot note 8. "Balīn in the Paris version."

Idrīsī. poc. مَلْن بَلِين Graves. Idrīsī.

'Balbak,' Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

"Celui qui veut aller a la Chine se rend, apres avoir quitte Bullin." f.n. 6, p. 26; بَلِين p. 43: du meme ouvrage: (De Bullin a Sirandib, une journee). "Bullin est done situe a une journee de Ceylan." Ferrand: Vol. I, p. 26.



Those who take the way from Bullin by sea will reach Sarandīb after a day's journey, or, according to another version, after two days' journey.²²

Idrīsī: From Sandān to the island Baliq, he says, is two day's journey. Baliq is (a big island and is populated).²³ It produces many²⁴ cocoanuts,²⁵ bananas and rice. It is here that vessels change their courses for different islands of the (Hind) Indies. From Baliq to the place called great abyss²⁶ is a distance of two days; from Baliq again to the island Sarandīb is a journey of one day or more.

22. Then follows the description of the sea route to China:—

"Those who wish to go to China from Bullin, go to Sarandīb, then leaving that island to the left, proceed to the island of Nakbālūs at a distance of ten or fifteen days' journey, hence to the island of Kalah, thence to Bālūs, an island situated to the left of Kalah at a distance of two days' journey, thence to the islands of Jābah, Shalāhit, Harlaj which are reached at a distance of two parasangs. Then they touch the island of Māyt which is not very far from Jābah. Proceeding from Māyt they reach the island of Tayūma situated to the left of it. Thence they proceed to Qimār and thence to Šanf (Champa) journeying on the coast for three days. Thence they go to Lūqīn. This is the first station in China, at a distance of one hundred parasangs by land and sea from Sanf. From Lūqīn they continue to Khānfū, after four days' journey by sea or twenty days' journey by land. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, pp. 66-69.

23. Elliot's version omits this

24. Elliot omits this

25. Elliot adds 'figs' after cocoanuts

} See Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

26. البية العظمى

R. Bullin may be an island near Saymūr.

It appears from the accounts of the two writers that Bullin is a very important station, the connecting link between the east and west coasts of the Indian peninsula and also the station from where the travellers started to China via Sarandīb. (Ceylon).

Professor Minorsky suggests, on the authority of Dr. Barnett that Bullin is Baliapatam, in Chirakkal Taluk, Malabar District, see *Hudūd-al-Ālam*, Translated by V. Minorsky, p. 243.

*Country of Bulwān*²⁷:

Dimishqī: The country of Bulwān adjoins the land of Habār on the western side on the coast of the sea. Of its cities, the following are mentioned, Dhabūh, ذبوة on the coast, the city Farthāla مدينة فرثالة Sakbīs and the city Sindābūr مدينة سندابور. Sindābūr is the qaṣba.

*The country of the Cōlas*²⁸:

Dimishqī refers to the country of the Cōlas and says that it includes the small Ma'bar and the big Ma'bar, both lying on the coast. Goods are carried to these places from the west.

*Dahfattān*²⁹:

After Jurfattan, *Dimishqī* mentions Dahfattān and Budfattān.

27. بلوان

R. Bulwān may be identified with *Bayalnād*, which formed one of the four boundaries of the Hoysāla kingdom, the other three being Ālavakheda, Talakād and Sāvimala. For further details see Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, p. 269.

28. See under Kingdom (Saylamān), and under Ma'bar.

29. دهفتان Paris ms. has دهنيان Refer to footnotes under Budfattān.

R. Dahfattān is *Darmadam* (Dharmapattanam) 'the place of charity' an island formed by the junction of the Tellichery and Anjarakkandi rivers just north of Tellichery town. It is sacred to the Malayālis as the place where Chēramān Perumāi took his last farewell of Malabar and sailed for Mecca. Here according to *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn*, Mālik Ibn Dīnār founded one of his nine mosques, but not a trace of the building remains. See *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 422.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa gives a different account. "At Dahfattan," he says, "there is a great bā'im and a cathedral mosque, which were built by Kuwayl's

*Daqtan*³⁰ :

It is mentioned by *Dimishqī* as one of the cities of big Ma'bar before Tandā (Thondi).

*Dawq*³¹ :

It is mentioned by *Dimishqī* as one of the cities after Barūṣ, and placed in the list as the second city above Sūbāra. *Dimishqī* says it is situated on the coast of the sea.

*Fāknūr*³² :

Yāqūt and *Dimishqī* mention *Fāknūr*.

grandfather, who was converted to Islam. Most of the inhabitants of Budfattan are Brahmans, who are venerated by the infidels and who hate the Muslims ; for this reason there are no Muslims living amongst them." H. A. R. Gibbs's Transl. of *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, p. 234.

Here again Yule, who gives various readings from other travellers, does not arrive at any definite conclusion. See *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 76-77.

30. *رهاطن* Dhaftan—Mehren—*Dimishqī*, Transl., p. 235.

R. This may be identified with Dēvipattanam, a port now in the Ramnad District about eleven miles due north of Ramnad. It must have been a place of great importance once, although the sea in the port is very shallow now.

31. *دوق* Dhouq. Mehren—*Dimishqī*, Transl., p. 233.

R. It may be near Bombay.

32. *فاكنور* Yāqūt and *Dimishqī*.

R. *Fāknūr* is *Bārkūr*. It is the traditional capital of Tuluva. It now stands about three miles inland, but was perhaps originally a coast town on the common estuary of the Sītanadi and Swarnanadi, the little port of Hangarkatta, which now stands there being also known as the port of Bārkūr. It is also one of the towns in which a mosque is said to have been built in the ninth century A.D. by the adherents of Chēramān Perumāl. Later on, it was the local capital of Hoysāl Ballal dynasty.

The traces of a great fort and ruins of Buddhist temples and inscriptions testify that in the fourteenth century Bārkūr was the seat of the viceregal

A. G.—5.

Yāqūt relates that after leaving Barwaṣ and passing through a curve, you come to the country of Malibār, from where pepper is exported. Its famous cities are Manjarūr and Fāknūr.

Dimishqī mentions that Manibār, adjoins Hunnūr. It is also named as the country of pepper. There are many cities. The chief of them is Fāknūr.

*Fandarīna*³³:

Idrīsī and *Dimishqī* both mention *Fandarīna*, although they have entirely independent information of the place.

Idrīsī says that from Tāna³⁴ to *Fandarīna*³⁵ is four *marḥalas*; ³⁶ from *Fandarīna* to Jurbatan is five *marḥalas*.³⁷ *Fandarīna*

government of the Raja of Vijayanagar. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, pp. 264-265.

Bārākūr was also known by the following names: Bārākūru, Bāra-kanūru, Fākanūr, Bārahakanyāpura. For details, see Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I.

For various readings of the name by non-Arab geographers, see Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 73.

Compare Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: "Fākanūr, a large town on an inlet, here there is a large quantity of sugar canes, which are unexcelled in the rest of that country. The chief of the Muslim community at Fākanūr is called Bāsadaḡ. He possesses about thirty warships, commanded by a Muslim called Lūlā, who is an evil doer and a pirate and a robber of merchants." Gibb's Translation, p. 233.

As this city is not mentioned by early geographers, it may be inferred that the city came into prominence after the eleventh century. A full account of the city can be obtained in *Ancient Karnataka* by Saletore.

33. فندرينة Idrīsī, Dimishqī.

فانه Bod. Lib. Ms.

فندرينة Nuwayrī, Pt. I. p. 237.

34. Bāna (Tāna), Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

35. *Fandarīna* and *Kandarīna*, Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 89, 85.

36. Four days, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

37. Five days, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

is a town built at the mouth of a river that comes from Manibār (Malabar) where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages and flocks. (Cardamom, which grows on the slopes of this hill is exported to all countries.)³⁸ The pepper vine grows in the island of Malī as in Fandarīna and Jurbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places.

Dimishqī says that most of the inhabitants of Fandarīna³⁹ are Jews and Hindus. Muslims and Christians are few in number.

38. "The Cardamom grows here, and forms the staple of a considerable trade." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

39. Mss. St. Pet., and L. have قنڊرىق See Text p. 173.

Dimishqī mentions Fandarīna after Buddfattān.

R. It is certainly identified with *Pantalāyini* or *Pantalāyini Kollam*, north of Quilandi, and one of the most historic places of Malabar. It is referred to by all the geographers, Arab as well as non-Arab. The Kollam Raja of Payanad here made his capital, and the Zamorin his conqueror, still has a place in the *desam*. According to *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidin*, Mālik ibn Dīnār founded one of the mosques at Fandarīna. A natural hollow in a rock on the sea shore close to the mosque has been chiselled into the likeness of a foot, and this mark is said to be the print of Ādam's foot, as he landed in India, his next stride taking him to Adam's peak in Ceylon. Off the town is one of the curious mud banks peculiar to the west coast, and Vasco da Gama probably moved to its shelter from Kappāt where he first touched in 1498 A.D.

The Portuguese made many attacks upon the town and it was strongly defended by bastions on the *Mayyat Kunnu* (grave yard of Kollam). *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, p. 436.

Compare Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: "Fandaryna, a large and a fine town with orchards and bazaars. The muslims occupy three quarters in it, each of which has a mosque. It is at this town that the Chinese vessels pass the winter." Gibb's translation, p. 234.

For various readings from non-Arab geographers, Christian as well as Chinese, see Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 77.

The name Pantalāyini Kollam is intended to distinguish it from another Kollam (Quilon) in the south.

*Fātnā*⁴⁰ :

Dimishqī mentions *Fātnī* as one of the cities of big Ma'bar and says that *Fātnī*⁴¹ is the *qaṣba* of Tandā (Thondi). *Fātnī* has fallen into ruins; it has a mountain named *Kāward*⁴² where there is a big volcano.

40. فَاثْنَى

41. La capitale Fāmni (*Fātnī*?) est a present detruite. Mehren p. 235.

42. See under mountain Kaward.

R. The Tamil word பட்டினம் (*pattinam*) means a seaport town, and is generally added as a suffix to the name proper by which the place is known, e.g. சென்னைபட்டினம் (*Chennapattinam—Madras*) நாகபட்டினம் (*Nagapattinam—Negapatam*). The mere reference to *pattinam*, or *Fattan* as the Arab writers call it, does not mean anything, and the reader is left to his own conjecture and imagination as to the possible place meant by the author. In these circumstances, any seaport town lies within the range of conjecture and the identity can be guessed with some amount of success after due consideration of the context in which 'Fattan' appears in the text.

Dimishqī refers to *Fātnī* and from the way in which he speaks, it appears that the place must be in the neighbourhood of Ramnad. This view is further strengthened when we read the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. After reading these two accounts it is possible to some extent to say that 'Fātnī' or 'Fattan' must refer to either *Dēvipattanam* or *Kilakkarai*. The description by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa of 'a fine mosque, built of stone' in Fattan leaves little doubt in the choice of *Kilakkarai* as the place meant. The mosque still exists there, a beautiful building of stone, very rare in the Tamil districts. Further the mention of 'crazy dervishes' whom Ibn Baṭṭūṭa met in Fattan, also points to *Kilakkarai* where even to-day such *majdhūbs* are seen. Thus the description of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is applicable to *Kilakkarai* and not to *Dēvipattanam* which is always a famous place of pilgrimage for the Hindus.

Yule has successfully concluded that the place must be in the vicinity of Ramnad, but he is not able to identify it definitely with any town. See *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, p. 35, f. n. 1.

Professor Gibb, however, questions Yule's conjecture and thinks it is unlikely if the name *Harkātu* (a place mentioned before Fattan by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) has anything to do with Arcot. But *Harkātu* cannot be Arcot, a city that came into prominence during the wars of the Mughal emperor

*Fūfal*⁴³ :

Yāqūt refers to the gulf of *Fūfal* while *Dimishqī* says that the city of *Fūfal* occupies a big area and that there are within it diving places for small pearls.

*Habār*⁴⁴ :

Dimishqī says that the city of *Habār* is on the coast and is mountainous. It has under its control about twenty thousand villages and about thirty fortresses.

Awrangzēb in the seventeenth century. *Harkātu* must be connected with some other town and not with *Arcot*. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's suggestion that it may be identified with *Ariyakudi*, may be considered. See Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan invaders*, pp. 194-6.

Dimishqī's information that *Fātnī* has fallen into ruins is questionable. He was either misinformed or he confused the information supplied to him by travellers. For details see under 'Mountain *Kāward*.'

43. خور فوفل *Yāqūt*.

مدينة فوفل *Dimishqī*.

Yāqūt mentions it after *Fākanūr* and *Dimishqī* after *Barqālī*.

R. The coast line of South Canara is indented with numerous creeks and bays formed by the estuaries of rivers, which, taking their rise among the hill ranges of the Western Ghats, run from east to west and flow into the Arabian Sea. The coast line is low and sandy with broken and rugged rocks cropping up in places.

The city of *Fūfal* referred to by *Dimishqī* may be identified with *Bekal*, thirty-four miles from *Mangalore* and seven and a half miles from *Kasargod*, south-south-east. It contains the largest and best preserved fort in the district, situated on a head-land running into the sea with a fine bay towards the south. This bay may answer to the *Khawr Fūfal* mentioned by *Yāqūt*. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 250.

44. هبار The account of *Habār* is omitted in the Mss. St. Pet. ; L and Cop. See Text p. 173. Note d.

Dimishqī mentions *Habār* after *Tāna*.

R. *Habār* may be identified with *Kārwār*, properly *Kadvad* in north latitude 14° 50' and east longitude 74° 15'. It is the chief town in the *Kārwār* sub-division and is the headquarters of the district of N. Kanara. The town dates

*Hannūr*⁴⁵ :

Dimishqī and *Abul Fidā* both mention *Hannūr* although each appears to have independent information.

Dimishqī relates that *Hannūr*⁴⁶ is on the coast, and has beautiful surroundings, and has under its control ten thousand villages, all inhabited.



Abul Fidā says that *Hannūr* is a small beautiful town and has a number of gardens. Some travellers say that the country which

from after the transfer of North Kanara to the Bombay Presidency in 1862. Before the transfer it was a fishing village. The present town and neighbouring offices and residences are in the lands of the fishing villages of Beitkol, Aligadde, Kone, Kājubāg, and Kōdibāg and of the agricultural village of Bād.

Though *Kārwar* is a modern town with little history, the *Kadwad* village about three miles from the mouth of the river from which *Kārwar* takes its name, rose to be one of the chief ports in the Bijapur dominions in the seventeenth century. The first known mention of *Kadwad* is in 1510 as *Caribal* on the other side of the river from *Cintacora* or *Chitakul*.

Thus it may be supposed without much danger of error that the *Habār* of *Dimishqī* may be the *Kadwad* of medieval times which might have been in existence as a port from the days of *Dimishqī*, or some other village in the neighbourhood of *Kadwad*.

Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XV, Pt. II, Kanara, p. 318.

45.  *Dimishqī*.
 *Abul Fidā*.

46. *Dimishqī* mentions *Hannūr* after *Sindābūr*.

R. *Hannūr* is modern *Honavar*, the headquarters of the *Honavar* sub-division. It is about two miles from the coast at the mouth of the estuary of the *Shiravati* or *Gersappa* river. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, Kanara p. 305.

Compare *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*: *Hinawar*, a day's journey from *Sindābūr*, "is on a large inlet navigable for large ships. During the *pushkāl*, which is the rainy season, this bay is so stormy that for four months it is impossible to sail on it except for fishing." *Gibb's translation*, p. 230.

For various readings from other geographers, see *Yule*, Vol. IV. p. 73.

extends from Sindābūr to Hannūr towards the east comes under Manibār.

*Harqilya*⁴⁷ :

Dimishqī : Harqilya is on the coast and has a big area. It has under its control about one thousand⁴⁸ villages, situated on hilly tracts as well as on the coast.⁴⁹

*Hilī*⁵⁰ :

Both *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* mention *Hilī*.

Dimishqī mentions *Hilī* after Harqilya.

Abul Fidā mentions Ra's Haylī, a mountain situated at a distance of three days' journey behind Manjarūr, a big mountain projecting into the sea and is visible to the navigators from a distance. It is called Ra's Haylī (promontory of Hayli).

47. مدينة هرقليه

48. 2,000 villages. Mehren—*Dimishqī*, p. 234.

49. 'The coast' is omitted by St. Pet. L. et. Cop. See Text, p. 173.

50. Harqilya may be identified with *Kasargod*, 27 miles from Mangalore. It is built on the Chandragiri river. When the country along the coast was divided by *Mayuravarma* into sixty-four sections under different Brahman governors, this was one of the four centres. It formed the southernmost part of the ancient Tuluva Kingdom, and was also the site of one of the mosques built in the 9th century A.D. by the party of Mālik ibn Dīnār. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 248 and *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn*.

50. مدينة هيلي Dimishqī.
راس هيلي Abul Fidā.

51. The name of the Kingdom Ili or Eli has left a trace in Mount Delly, mentioned by several authors.

In Mādāyi or Pazhayangadi close to the travellers' bungalow on the west are the lines of an ancient fort, and further north in the midst of a desolate, rocky plain are traces of many walls and buildings and an old tank, still known as the Jews' tank. The fort may be on or near the site of the old Eli fort of the Kōlattiri family, built, according to the Kēralōl-

Islands : Idrīsī mentions the following islands.

Balīq : See under *Bullīn*.

Daybul : See under *Kūlī*.

Malan : See under *Sandān*.

Malī : See under *Kawlam*.

Mand : See under *Kūlī*.

Sandān : See under *Sandān*.

Tāra : See under *Sūbāra*.

Ūbkīn : See under *Ūtkīn*.

*Jurbatan*⁵¹ :

Idrīsī and *Dimishqī* mention Jurbatan though their accounts of this place are different.

Idrīsī says that from Fandarīna (to Jurbatan⁵² is five *mar-ḥalas*); from (Jurbatan to Sanjā and Kaykār)⁵³ two *days*.⁵⁴

patti, by Eli Perumāl, the eighth of the line. East of the bungalow is the principal temple of the Chirakkal family. "The Jews' tank" points to an early colony of the Jews, probably in the palmy days of the kingdom of Eli.

See *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, pp. 397-398; Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 74-75.

Compare Ibn Baṭṭūta : Ḥīlī is two days' journey from Manjarūr. "It is large and well-built, situated on a big inlet which is navigable for large vessels. This is the farthest town reached by ships from China."

Gibb's translation, p. 234.

51. جربا تن Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Ms. Poc. 375.

جربا تن Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Ms. Gr. 42.

جرفتان Dimishqī

حاتين Nuwayrī Part I p. 237.

52. "to Jurbatan five days". Elliot Vol. I. p. 90.

53. "Jurbatan to Sanji and Kaikasar," Elliot. Vol. I. p. 90.

صنبي وكيكار Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Mss. Poc. 375.

صبي وكيكار Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Mss. Gr. 42.

54. مسيرة يوم Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Mss. Gr. 42.

Jurbatan is a populous town on a small gulf.⁵⁵ It produces rice and grain in large quantities, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandīb. There is much pepper cultivated on the mountains.

Dimishqī states that Jurfattan⁵⁶ is on the coast and its inhabitants are infidels.

*Kabashkân*⁵⁷:

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*: From Bābattan to Sinjilī and to Kabashkân, is one day's journey. Rice is produced here. It is a distance of three parasangs from these places to the mouth of the river Kūdāfarīd.

55. "A little river". Elliot. Vol. I. p. 90.

56. Mss. of Dimishqī show variations in the reading of the name Jurfattan.

Ms. St. Pet. et L. have حوتان

Ms. Cop. has حریان

Ms. in Paris has جربان

Dimishqī mentions it after Hilī.

R. This is identified with *Srikandapuram*, ten miles due east of Taliparamba. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's three parasangs from Hilī also fits in, though Idrīsī has misplaced Jurfattan.

Yule identifies Jurfattan with Cannanore which does not seem to be correct. For, the description in *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn* of a mosque built by Mālik ibn Dīnār Jurfattan is not appropriate, if Jurfattan is to be identified as Cannanore. In Srikandapuram the ancient mosque of Ibn Dīnār stands to this day. It is still a populous Mappilla village. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Hilī, Jurfattan, Budfattan, Dahfattan, which were under the Raja Kuwayl (Kōlattiri).

The kingdom of the Kōlattiri Raja extended from Kasargod in the north to Korappula in the south. The eastern boundary was Kutakumala, and the western, the sea. The residence of the Raja was at Valara-pattanam, the Budfattan of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. See *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 398; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, p. 76.

57. کبشگان

R. See under Sinjilī.

A. G.—6.

*Kamkam*⁵⁸ :

Seven writers, *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Sulaymān*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Ibn Rusta*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī* and *Dimishqī* mention *Kamkam*.

Sulaymān says that the land of the *Balharā* begins from the coast of the sea, comprising the country called *Kamkam*, and extends by land as far as China.⁵⁹

Ibn Khurdādhbeh states that the *Balharā* resides in *Kamkam*, the land of teak.

Ya'qūbī states that the kingdom of *Kamkam*⁶⁰ is a vast country where teak is available.

Ibn Rusta follows *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* but has the additional remarks that teak is exported to other countries and that *Kamkam* is an Indian name.

Mas'ūdī mentions that the country of the *Balharā* is also called the country of *Kamkar*.⁶¹

58. *کمر* *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Sulaymān*, *Ya'qūbī* and *Ibn Rusta*.
کمر *Mas'ūdī*.
کمر *Idrīsī*.
کمر و کنانات *Dimishqī*.

59. *و ملک بلهار و ارضه اولها ساحل البحر و هي بلاد
تدعى الککم متصلة على الارض الى الصين*

Sulaymān, p. 28.

"The kingdom of the *Balhara* commences on the sea side, at the country of *Komkam* (*Konkan*), on the tongue of land which stretches to China." *Elliot* Vol. I, p. 4.

"L'empire du *Ballahrā* commence à la côte de la mer, là ou est le pays de *Konkan*, sur la langue de terre qui se prolonge jusqu'en Chine."

Ferrand, *Relations de voyages, et Textes Géographiques*, Vol. 1, p. 42.

60. *Ya'qūbī* mentions *Kamkam* after the kingdom of the *Balharā*.

61. *el-Kiminkar*. *(الکیمک - الکنکر)*, *Sprenger Mas'ūdī*, p. 389.

Idrīsī says that next to the Balharā is the Makamkam whose country produces teak.⁶²

Dimishqī relates that the first country on the coast of Hind, after the city Barūṣ (Broach) is the country of Kank and Kanūnāt surrounded by mountains.⁶³

Thus we find that Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī associate Kamkam with the Balharā or his kingdom. Ya'qūbī names it as a separate kingdom after that of the Balharā's. Idrīsī has a different name Makamkam and calls him a king next in rank to the Balharā. Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ya'qūbī and Idrīsī also say that teak is produced in Kamkam. Thus these five writers, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī, Mas'ūdī and Idrīsī, have two points in common, though stated in different ways. The reading of their accounts does not however warrant the idea that they are indebted to each other.

Ibn Rusta follows Ibn Khurdādhbeh but has two additional remarks, while Dimishqī has an independent account.

Perhaps the facts that Kamkam was a vast country, a kingdom, and that it produced teak were so well known in their time that these writers incorporated information in their accounts as it was reported to them; and this also would explain variations in the different readings of the name Kamkam.

62. Bod. Lib. Mss.

The text conveys the idea that Makamkam is the name of a king next in rank to the Balharā.

63.

(e) نادر بلاد الساحل الهندى بعد مدينة بروح بلاد الكندى والكنونات بعد قبحا الجبل
وهى على شرق الكندى [والكندى هو الشتراندى تقدم ذكره] وذكر مبادتهم لبحا

(e) St. Pet. L. et cop. omettent ce mot.

(f) Les trois mssrts. om.

See Text p. 172.

"Le premier pays sur la cote indienne apres la ville de Berouc est Kanok (Canoge) et Kanounat, entourees de montagnes et situes sur la rive orientale du Gange. Nous avons deja precedemment decrit le Gange et les diverses especes de devotion, dont il est l'objet sur ses bords." Mehren-Dimishqī, p. 233.

This shows confusion on the part of Dimishqī.

R. It is the *Konkan area* to which these writers are referring. See p. in this book.

*The Country of Karūrā*⁶⁴:

Dimishqī says that the country of Karūrā adjoins the town Fātnī. It is the last country reached by merchants and Karūrā is the *qaṣba*. Wajrām-al-dhahab is the temple.⁶⁵

*Kawlam*⁶⁶:

Eight writers, Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*, *Sulaymān*, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā*, all speak about Kawlam. (Quilon).

64. بلاد کرورا

65. وجرام الذهب For details, see Chapter II in this book.

R. In ancient Tamil records Vanji is mentioned as the capital of the Cēra kings and, according to the Tamil metrical dictionary, *Tivākaram*, Karur is Vanji. It has been identified with Tiruvanjikulam, lying adjacent to Cranganore, as the capital of the early rulers of Cēra or Kērala. Ptolemy, however, places Karūrā further inland, and an almost equally probable theory identifies the town with Tirukarūr, three miles from Kōthaimangalam and twenty-eight miles east by north of Cochin, where the remains of an old temple and other massive building are still visible. It is also identified with Karur in Trichinopoly District.

See R. Raghava Aiyangar *Vanjimanagar*.

Indian Antiquary XXXI, p. 343.

Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, Introduction, pp. 96-97.

Kanakasabhai Pillai, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 20.

V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Silappadikaram*, English translation, p. 44.

66.

ملی Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*
 کولم ملی Sulaymān
 کولم ملی Ibnul Faqīh
 کولم ملی Idrīsī
 کولم ملی - جزیرة ملی Yāqūt and Qazwīnī
 کولم ملی - جزیرة ملی Dimishqī
 کولم ملی Abul Fidā

Compare: کولم ملی Ibn Battūta.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Sandān to Mulay is five days' journey. Qanna and pepper are obtained here.⁶⁷

Sulaymān mentions that ships from Masqat depart to the ports of Hind, sailing towards Kūkam Malī. This is a month's journey from Masqat, with a moderate wind. There is a garrison in Kūkam Malī. Chinese ships come here, and one thousand *dirhams* are collected from them. Other ships pay a sum ranging from one to ten *līnārs*. There is sweet water available here from the wells. Between Kūkam Malī and the sea of Harkand is about a month's journey.⁶⁸ After taking in sweet water at Kūkam Malī, the ships sail towards the sea of Harkand, cross the sea and reach a place called Lakhyālūs.

Ibnul Faqīh follows Sulaymān, giving almost all the details with a little variation. He says a sum ranging from ten to twenty *līnārs* is collected from ships other than Chinese; the ships cross the sea of Harkand and come to a place called Kalahbār,⁶⁹ between which and Harkand there are islands peopled by a community known as Lanj. He seems to be more definite than Sulaymān when he says that the ships, after leaving Masqat, come straight to Kūlū Malī, the first port of Hind, the distance between the two is a month's journey. But his assertion that the garrison at Kūlū Malī belongs to the cities of Hind is vague.

67. "From Sindān to Mali (Malabar) is five days' journey; in the latter pepper is to be found, also the bamboo." Elliot. Vol. I, p. 15.

68. The text read *وبين مسقط وبين كوكرمالي وبين هرکند نحو من شهر*

The words *وبين مسقط* seem to be a mistake. The distance between Masqat and Kūkam Malī has already been given. Now it should be about the distance between Kūkam Malī and Harkand. Compare: "The distance between Kūlū Malī and Harkand is a month's journey." Ibnul Faqīh.

69. "From Likhyālūs the ships set sail towards a place known as Kalahbār." Sulaymān, *Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh*, p. 18-19.

Idrīsī says that five miles by sea from Kūlam Mālī lies the island named Mālī, a large and beautiful spot, less hilly, and covered with much vegetation. The pepper plant grows in this island, as found nowhere else.

Yāqūt mentions that the island Kūlam is one of the innumerable islands in the sea of Hind.

He quotes Abū Dulaf who says: I went from Mandūrqīn to Kūlam. The inhabitants have a prayer house in which there is no idol.....⁷⁰ The pillars of the houses are from the backbones of dead fish, though the inhabitants do not eat fish. They do not slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims. The inhabitants choose a king for China when their own king dies.⁷¹ There is no art of medicine in India except in this town You embark

70. Details of products described here are omitted and will be found in the chapter on products.

71.

واهلها يختارون للصين ملكا اذا مات ملكهم Yāqūt Vol. III, p. 455
واهلها يختارون ملكا من الصين اذا مات ملكهم Qazwīnī, Vol. II, p. 70
"When their king dies the people of the place choose another from China."
Elliot, Vol. I, p. 95.

K. P. Padmanabha Menon, who quotes Elliot's translation in his "*History of Kerala*" (Vol. I, p. 277), expresses the view that the mention of a choice of a king from China to succeed the one deceased suggests the probability of there being a Chinese factory or settlement, at the time, in Quilon governed by one of their own chiefs who was succeeded on his death by another brought from China. If Yāqūt's version were to be correct, it may mean that the people of Quilon sent a person to China to represent their factory or settlement there.

That Chinese merchants used to come to Quilon is learnt from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who says that Kawlam is the nearest of Mulaybar towns to China and it is to these that most of the merchants from China come.

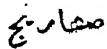
from this town for 'Umān... Water in Kūlam comes from tanks⁷² which are made to collect rain water.

Different kinds of aloes, wood, camphor, resin and barks of trees are associated with Kūlam.

Qazwīnī follows Yāqūt quoting the same source, yet there is some contradiction, since he says that Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil who visited this place (Kūlam) did not see either a temple or an idol there.

Dimishqī mentions Kūlam as the last city of the country of pepper.... The island Mali is related to the city⁷³ on the coast. Pepper is there loaded in ships even though they all gather on the same day. Various kinds of perfumes are obtained here.

Abul Fidā quotes the longitude and latitude⁷⁴ from Ibn S'aīd and *Kitāb-al-Aṭwāl*. He assigns it to the first climate, and says that it is the last city of the pepper land of Manībār.

72.  P. Tank, cistern, the word 'tank' is to be understood in the Indian sense.

73. Evidently the city 'Kawlam' is meant.

74. Ibn Sa'id: longitude 132°, latitude 12°
Aṭwāl: Longitude 110°, latitude 13° 30'.

R. Kawlam is identified with *Quilon*.

Of these writers the statements of Dimishqī and Abul Fidā that Kūlam or Kawlam is the last city of the pepper land leaves us no doubt as to its identity with Quilon in Travancore. The information of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Kawlam is the nearest of the Mulaybār towns to China points to its position as present-day Quilon.

If Mandūrqīn is Madura, as identified by the present writer, then the statement of Abū Dulaf quoted by Yāqūt and Qazwīnī that he went from Mandūrqīn to Kūlam seems to fit in and Quilon may answer to that.

The distance of one month's journey between Masqat and Kūlam Mali given by Sulaymān and Ibnul Faqīh seems to be fairly correct, and the Kūkam Mali or Kūlū Mali of these two writers and their accounts may be taken to represent Quilon.

But the accounts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī present some diffi-

Then he quotes Ibn Sa'īd who says that Kawlam is the last city of the pepper land in the east, from where they embark to Aden. He also reports from travellers thus: Kawlam is a city, the last one of the pepper land. It is situated in a gulf. There is a separate quarter for Muslims in this city where there is also a cathedral mosque. The city is situated on a plain, its earth is sandy. There are a large number of gardens here.

culty. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh, from Sandān to Mulay takes five days, thence to Bullīn two days, and Bābattan two days. As Bābattan appears to be Baliapatam, near Cannanore, from a study of other accounts, Ibn Khurdādhbeh's Mulay must lie before Bābattan. This seems to fit in with the five days' journey from Sandān to Mulay, if Sandān were to be St. John's Point of Rennal between Daman and Mahim as presumed by Yule. These considerations indicate that "Mulay" cannot refer to Kūlam. But before arriving at any conclusion let us see what Idrīsī, who generally follows Ibn Khurdādhbeh, has to say. He does not help us very much. He suddenly introduces Kūkam Malī, gives no account of it but proceeds to speak of the island Malī situated at a distance of five miles from Kūkam Malī. Thus the question arises: how did Idrīsī get the names of Kūkamli or Kūkam Malī and the island Malī. Perhaps the manuscripts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh in the possession of Idrīsī had these names with conflicting accounts and Idrīsī might have arrived at his version finally as we find it in the present form. It may also be observed that copies of Ibn Khurdādhbeh's works always show variations which have been noticed at different places in the course of this work. Generally Elliot's version of Ibn Khurdādhbeh never agrees with de Goeje's version as regards place-names. Hence it may be concluded that Mulay of Ibn Khurdādhbeh may refer to Kūkam Malī or Kūlam Malī of other writers and the conflict in distances presented by Ibn Khurdādhbeh may be due to faults in the manuscript copies.

In this connection it may be said that Malī of Cosmas (6th century A.D.) is understood by K. P. Padmanabha Menon to refer to Kollam (Quilon).

For the meaning of the word 'Kollam' and a detailed account of the city refer to:

K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 271-292.

*Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja*⁷⁵ :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says from Kūdāfarīd to Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja is two days' journey.⁷⁶ Corn and rice are produced here.

Idrīsī mentions that from Sanjā and Kaykār to Kalkayān takes one day. Thence to Lūluwā and Kanja another day.⁷⁷ In both these places rice and corn are cultivated: There are plenty of cocoanuts and (fruits).⁷⁸ From Kanja to Samandar⁷⁹ is thirty miles.

*The City Khurnal*⁸⁰:

Dimishqī mentions the city *Khurnal*.

75. كيان - اللوا - كنجة *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*.

كليان - اللولوا - كنجة *Idrīsī*.

76. "From Kūra to Kilakān, Lūār and Kanja, is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kāmūl and other neighbouring places, by the fresh-water route in fifteen days." *Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

77. مسيرة يومين *Graves*, Ms. Bodl. Library.

78. *Elliot* omits this word. Vol. I, p. 90.

79. Samandār. *Elliot*. Vol. I, p. 90.

R. It appears from the narratives of these two authors that both Kalkayān and Lūlū are inland towns between Kūdāfarīd, (Alimukam near Cranganore) and Conjeevaram (near Madras) on the east coast. The time given to cover the distance is two days, and according to another version of *Idrīsī's* Ms. three days, which seems to be rather insufficient.

It is not possible to identify the places, Kaylkān and Lawā. Kanja is old Kānchīpuram (Conjeevaram), the capital of the Cōla kings.

80. مدينة خورنل *Text* p. 173.

All the three mss. omit the name and description of this city. See *Text* note a, p. 173.

A. G.—7.

Khurnal is a port for the ships of Hind as well as for those who pass by.

*Kubrā wa Kabīr in Big Ma'bar*⁸¹:

Dimishqī says that after the small Ma'bar comes the Big Ma'bar. Of the many cities in it, *Kubrā wa Kabīr* is a beautiful city; its inhabitants are mixed.⁸²

"La Ville de Khournoul, lieu d'étape pour les navires indiens." Mehren—*Dimishqī*, p. 233.

Dimishqī mentions Khurnal after Fūfal.

R. Khurnal may be identified with *Kumbila* in Kasargod taluk, Malabar District.

Kumbila is a small port, nineteen miles south of Mangalore, and nine miles from Kasargod, north-north-west. The town stands on a bold peninsula in a lagoon, separated from the sea by a sand-spout and communicating with it by a narrow channel, on which the village of Kannipuram is situated. It was once a considerable town, but is now decayed. The Raja of *Kumbila*, whose ancestors ruled the southern part of Tuluva and who is now a government pensioner, resides a small distance away.

In 1514, Duarte Barbosa visited the port and recorded that he found the people exporting a very bad brown rice to the Maldives in exchange for coir. Early in the sixteenth century the port paid a tribute of 800 loads of rice to the Portuguese.

Manual of South Canara District, Vol. II, p. 248-9.

81. کبری و کبیر

82. "Suit le grand Mabbar avec les villes de Koubra (Kat'ir?) Kaibar, belle vile avec une population mixte." Mehren—*Dimishqī*, p. 235.

R. This may be identified with *Gangaikondapuram* (Trichinopoly District). It is six miles east of Jayankonda Cōlapuram. It was for over a hundred years the capital of the Cōla kingdom, having been preferred to Tanjore by Rajendra Cōla (1011-44). Its proper name is Gangai-Konda-Cōlapuram or the city of the Cōla who conquered the Ganges. The title Gangai-

Kūdāfarīd⁸³:

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Sinjili and Kabashkân to the mouth of Kūdāfarīd is three parasangs, and that from Kūdāfarīd to Āylkân, Lawā and Kanja requires two days' journey.

Chōḍa-Cōḷa was assumed by King Rajendra Cōḷa to commemorate his northern conquests.

The place is frequently referred to in inscriptions, being called sometimes Gangapur" and "Gangakunda."

Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District, Vol. I, p. 347.

83. Text p. 63 كودا فرید . F. Note (k) A. کورافرید .

B. کورافرید ممبر East Godavari. Schirâzi, at - *Toḥfat as Schāhīja*,

Cod. Leid. 192 Cap. III Inter ممبر et ینگاله memorat کدورای
quo idem fluvius significari videtur.

"De là (de l'embouchure de la Godavari) à Kaylakân" Ferrand. *Relations de voyages*, Vol. I p. 24.

"From 'Askân to Kūra three and a half parasangs, where several rivers discharge." Elliot. Vol. I, p. 16.

R. Kūdāfarīd is identified with *Āḷimukam*.

According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh, the mouth of Kūdāfarīd is three parasangs from Sinjili and Kabashkân, (Cranganore) and from Kūdāfarīd to Āylkân, Lawā and Kanja two days' journey. But Idrīsī does not mention Kūdāfarīd and says Kaylkân is reached after a day from Sanjā and Kayalkār (Cranganore) and thence to Lūlū and Kanja.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says, the mouth of Kūdāfarīd is three parasangs from Sinjili. The word 'mouth' is very significant. From the earliest times Muchiri which, according to Tamil poets, was situated near the mouth of the Periyar was frequented by Yavana merchants. Pseudostomos signifies in Greek 'false mouth' and is a correct translation of the Tamil or Malayālam expression "Āḷimukam" by which the mouth of the Periyar, south of Kodungallur, is known even now. It was so called because during the monsoon the river

Kūlī⁸⁴:

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and *Idrīsī* both mention Kūlī.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Ūtkīn to Mayd is two parasangs. The inhabitants are brigands; thence to Kūlī is two parasangs,⁸⁵ thence to Sandān eighteen parasangs.

Idrīsī reaches Kūlī by a different route. From Ūbkīn to the island Daybul⁸⁶ is two days. It is the beginning of the land of Hind. (In the plains rice is cultivated and up the hills Indian qanna is grown. The inhabitants worship idols.)⁸⁷ Thence to the island Mand, six miles⁸⁸. The inhabitants are brigands. From Mand to Kūlī six miles and thence to the town Sūbāra five *marḥalas*.

frequently made a new opening for itself in the low sand-banks, which obstructed its entrance to the sea. Hence the "mouth of Kūdāfarīd" may be identified with Alīmukam, and it seems to have no connection with the Godavari river, as supposed by some modern scholars.

Thus we understand from *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* that the sea route ends with Kūdāfarīd (Alīmukam) and then the land route takes us to Conjeevaram on the east coast. Only two stations Kaylkān and Lawā are mentioned in the middle and the time given as two days appears to be insufficient to cover the distance from Alīmukam near Cranganore to Conjeevaram.

84. كولى *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī*.
بولى *Idrīsī* Poc. 375.

85. "From the Meds to Kol are two parasangs", Elliot. Vol. I, p. 15.

86. جزيرة الديبل

87. This account is given by Elliot under Kanbāya. See Vol. I, pp. 85. It is a mistake in the reading of the text by Elliot.

88. "From Kanbāya to the island of Mand" Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85. Elliot has misread the text. Instead of Daybul, Elliot has read Kanbāya.

R. According to *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* Kūlī is reached within a distance of four parasangs from Ūtkīn, while *Idrīsī* goes to it from Ūbkīn after travelling two days and twelve miles through the islands Daybul and Mand. These

*Lārawī Coast*⁸⁹ :

Mas'ūdī gives information about the cities on the coast of the Lārawī sea.

From the promontory of *Al-jamjama*, the vessels enter from the sea of Fars into the second sea which has the name Lārawī. On this sea are Saymūr, Sūbāra, Tābah, Sandān, Kanbāya and other places of Hind and Sind.⁹⁰

Dimishqī says that the coasts of the country of Lār are a continuation of the coasts of Jazrāt, and it comprises the kingdom of Somnat.

*Ma'bar*⁹¹ :

Yāqūt says that Ma'bar is the extremity of the land of Hind, then come the cities of China, the first of these is Java.

Dimishqī mentions that after Kawlam comes the country of Sūliyān (Cōlas) which includes two Ma'bars, big and small. Both are on the coast, and goods are carried thither from western cities.

accounts seem to be conflicting with each other, yet they make it sufficiently clear that Kūlī, Ūbkīn or Ūtkīn, Mand and Daybul all lay in the Gulf of Cambay, some on the side of the coast of Guzarat and some on that of the western coast of South India.

89. بحر لاری. Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 330

Sea of Ladiwa (of the Laccadives) بحر لادی. (بحر لاری.)

Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

سواحل بلاد الاری Dimishqī, Text p. 173.

90. "Şafūra, Sūbārah, Tānah, Sindābūr and Kanbāyat", Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

R. The Lata country, according to Fleet, was the name given to Surat and Baroda. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Part I, Vol. II, p. 283.

91. معبر 'The Ferry or crossing place.' For details see *Hobson Jobson*, p. 529.

The small Ma'bar,⁹² the port which gives access to the cities⁹³ Kankār, Mankala and al-Laybūr, is the capital of the kingdom and has a small temple.⁹⁴

92. Dimishqī is the only writer who divides Ma'bar into two as big and small Ma'bars. Perhaps he does so to avoid confusion between the place or the port that communicated with Ceylon and the Ma'bar proper. It does not seem to be easy to identify the place represented by the small Ma'bar. But his statement that it is the capital of the kingdom, read with Abul Fidā's account of Biyyar Dāwal may warrant the conclusion that small Ma'bar and Biyyar Dāwal may be one and the same place. What is Biyyar Dāwal?

Amir Khusro gives a very detailed account of the Muslim campaigns in Ma'bar A.H. 710 (1310) with various place-names. He mentions a place Bir Dhul. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar in his *South India and Muhammadan invaders*, seems to think that it refers to the head-quarters of Bir (Vira) and is used synonymously as referring to the country of Bir. The suggestion is offered that it stands for Vira Cōlan which at the time might have been an alternative designation of the head-quarters of the Cōla country under the Pāndya ruler, which must have been either Gangaikondacōlapuram or Jayangondacōlapuram. In the course of the discussion, the learned Doctor refers to Abul Fidā's Biyyar-Dāwal and says that the first part stands for the same as Amir Khusro's Bir (Vira Pāndya), the latter half 'Dāwal' indicates a part of the word 'Dawlat' which might mean wealth or possessions of which Dhul of Amir Khusro may be a modification. Thus he comes to the conclusion that in either case it could mean only the country which went to make up the fortune of the Pāndya King.

With due deference to so great an authority as Dr S. K. Ayyangar, I should however state that I am not aware of any rule of Persian grammar by which the words Bir and Dawlat can combine and form Bir-Dawlat. It may form Dawlat-i-Bir, not *vice versa*. Further it is obvious that Amir Khusro could not have confused *Dawlat* with Dhul.

Thus it appears to me that Dhul and *Dāwal* are corruptions of some Tamil word, probably (தாவளம்) *Tāwalam* meaning towns, villages, etc., in agricultural districts (மருதநிலத்துர்) commonly, a lodging place. Thus Biyyar-Dāwal, or Bir Dhul, a proper Tamil construction, might mean a town of Bir (Vira Pāndya).

It is natural to expect that in the dispute to succession between Kulasēkhara's two sons Vira Pāndya and Sundara Pāndya another city to rival Madura, the traditional capital of the Pāndyas, might have risen; possibly

After the small Ma'bar comes the Big Ma'bar. On this are the following cities: Kubrā wa Kabīr, Qayrah, Qayn, Abātū, Daqtan, and Tandā whose *qaṣba* is Fātñī.

Abul Fidā says that Ma'bar is the third *iqīm* of Hind. It begins at about three or four days' journey to the east of Kāwlam. Thus it is situated to the east of Manībār. The first locality in Ma'bar from the side of Manībār is Rās Kumhurī. Manifattan is in Ma'bar. Biyyar Dāwal is the *qaṣba* of Ma'bar.

In the tables of the cities of Hind Abul Fidā gives the longitude 142° and latitude 17°25' from Ibn Sa'id, and adds further information that Ma'bar is in the third climate at the extremity of Hind.

It has been said above that Ma'bar is the name of an *iqīm*; it is therefore possible that the situation indicated here refers to its capital Biyyar Dāwal mentioned before.

Ma'bar, says Ibn Sa'id, is celebrated in the mouths of travellers. It is from there that a kind of material, known as *lānas*⁹⁵, is

Vīra Pāṇḍya might have resided there. From the way Abul Fidā speaks, it must be sought for after Quilon, before Tonḍi on the east coast. The suggestion by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar of Jayangondaḥapuram seems to be far away.

93. Kankār, Mankala and al-Laybūr are, without doubt, cities in Ceylon. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also refers to Kunakār in his trip to Ceylon and this is identified with Kurunēgala, the residence of the old dynasty of the Sinhalese kings. The other two cities, Mankala and al-Laybūr might lie round about Kurunēgala.

94. Compare the translation of Mehren on pp. 234-5. "Le petit Mabar est le port de la ville de Kankār, Mangalah Allibnoun (Allipour?) residence royale, avec un Boudd, qui n'est guere frequente."

95. **اللانيس**

Only Dozy gives **لانيس** as Muslin (Vol. II, 551). There is a word in Tamil (லேஞ்சு) *Lēnci*, (இலேஞ்சு) *ilēnci* kerchief, scarf, a coloured one, usually red. The colour is very fast. The Tamil dictionaries refer that word to the Portuguese "Lenco" which is further traced to the Latin *Linteum*—a linen cloth, and the Greek *Līnon*—anything made of flax. Thus the word

exported and the art of washing and dyeing in that place is proverbial.⁹⁶

At the north extends the mountain adjoining the country of the Balharā who is one of the kings of Hind ; at the west the river of Sūliyān throws itself into the sea.

Ma'bar is three or four days' journey to the east of Kawlam ; it must be with a little bend towards the south.

*Malibār*⁹⁷ :

Six writers, *Sulaymān*, *Yāqūt*, *Dimishqī*, *Abul Fidā*, *Idrīsī* and *Qazwīnī* mention *Malibār*.

lānas can only mean cotton fabric and it will not be correct to translate it as muslin.

Lenci (لنچي) means a kind of coloured cloth, silk or cotton usually red. Even today the Muslims on the east coast, in the country parts wear a *lungi*, a coloured cloth around the waist and a big or small *lenci* as upper cloth. Since the colour of the *lenci* is fast we could follow the thought of *Abul Fidā* when he immediately refers to the dyeing in Ma'bar.

See the following note :

96. The Arabic word قِصَارِة means the art of beating, washing and whitening clothes. In modern terminology, it may be understood as washing and dyeing.

Otto Spies has translated the word قِصَارِة as "washermen." Perhaps he read the word as القِصَارِة pl. of القِصَار. It should be read as حرفة القِصَار, القِصَارَة

See Otto Spies, *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century*, p. 38.

Compare the translation of this passage by M. Stanislas Guyard, Tome II, p. 121. "C'est de la qu'on exporte une mousseline qui a passé en proverbe pour sa finesse."

97. بلد الغفل *Yāqūt*.

بلاد الغفل *Sulaymān*, *Dimishqī*, *Abul Fidā*.

منيبار *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī*, *Abul Fidā*.

مليبار *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*.

Sulaymān says that the people of Tilwa, in the country of pepper, attain mastery over others.

Idrīsī states that Fandarīna is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manībār.

Yāqūt mentions that leaving Barwaṣ and after a sharper bend you come to the country of Malībār, from where pepper is exported. Its famous cities are: Fāknūr and Manjarūr.⁹⁸ Malībār is a big country with a number of cities. Of these are the following: Fāknūr, Manjarūr and Dahsal. Malībār is in the middle of the country of Hind, its province adjoining the provinces of Multan. Pepper is exported from here to all the countries of the world.⁹⁹

Yāqūt quotes Abū Duḥaf as saying: I went from Kalah to the country of pepper where I saw the pepper plant.

Qazwīnī gives the substance¹⁰⁰ of the details mentioned by Yāqūt but has the additional remark that many people are benefited by pepper trade and the Franks carry pepper in the sea of Syria to the farthest west.¹⁰¹

Dimishqī says that the city of Manībār adjoins Hunnūr; it is also named as the country of pepper, where there are many cities.¹⁰²

98. Yāqūt, Vol. I, p. 506.

99. Yāqūt, Vol. IV, p. 639.

100. "Malībār is a vast country in Hind. It has many towns. There are pepper plantations in this country; pepper is exported from one end of the east to the other end of the west." Qazwīnī-Kitāb-al-āthar-al-bilad, p. 82.

101. This account shows that pepper was the chief merchandise that formed the basis of the trade relationship between the Franks and the Arabs during Qazwīnī's period, (1203-1283 A.D.).

102. Fāknūr, Saymūr, Manjarūr, Harqilya, Hili, Jurfattan, Dahfattān, Budfattān, Fandarīna, Shinkli, Kūlam.

Abul Fidā says that Manībār, one of the countries of Hind to the east of Jazrāt, is the pepper country. Some travellers say that the country which extends from Sindābūr to Hannūr towards the east comes under Manībār. The whole of Manībār is full of verdure, intertwined with trees on account of excessive water. It is said that the extremity of Manībār is Tandiyr. Kūlam is the last city of Manībār.¹⁰³

103. Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: "Mulaybār is the pepper country; it extends for two months' journey along the coast from Sandabūr (Goa) to Kawlam (Quilon in Travancore)."

Gibb's translation, p. 231.

R. Malabar is referred to by all the Arab writers as the country of pepper and no mention is made of the cocoanuts, one of the chief products of Malabar. Their silence on this point is very significant and it lends support to the theory of a section of scholars in Southern India who hold that coconut plantation was introduced into Malabar, at a later period, from Ceylon.

Malabar: There are two parts in the word: *Mala* and *Bār*. The first is doubtless indigenous, and the second is probably the Persian *bār*.

As regards the substantative part of the name *mala*, it is said that it is a Dravidian term *malai*, mountain in the Sanskrit form *malaya* which is applied specifically to the southern portion of the Western Ghats. But the Arabs do not seem to have known the word *malai*, meaning mountain. They knew an island or place named *Malī* (Mulay), (see under Kawlam), which they sometimes combined with Kūlam or Kūkām, as Kūlam Malī or Kūkām Malī. A close study of their knowledge of India shows that in the earliest times the Arabs knew only one port on the west coast of India, and that is Quilon which they associated with Malī, and which they always touched on their way to and from China.

Sulaymān first calls it Kūkām Malī and Ibn Rusta has Kūlū Malī. Ibn Khurdādhbeh refers only to Mulay. This doubtless refers to Kūkām Malī of the other writers, though there is some confusion in his account of distances and places reached before and after Mulay. After all Ibn Khurdādhbeh was not a traveller and, as Director of Posts and Police, he engaged himself in compiling a book of trade routes for which he secured information from various sources, some of which might have misled him. This Kūlūmalī was an important station for them in their trade route to China and they were very familiar with it. As their knowledge of coastal cities of India

Thus we see that each of these writers seems to give a fairly independent account, although there are some points of resemblance between Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.

*Mandarī*¹⁰⁴ :

Mas'ūdī, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī* and *Abul Fidā* mention *Mandarī*.

Mas'ūdī says that *Mandūrfīn* is opposite to the island of *Saran-dīb* as *Qumār* is opposite to the islands of the *Maharāj*. He also says that he has given an account of the king of *Mandūrfīn*¹⁰⁵ in his *Akḥbār-al-zamān* and *Kitāb-al-awsaṭ*.

increased gradually, they might have, for purposes of convenience, called that portion of the sea-board country as *Malībār*, the land of *Malī*, which term they also used synonymously with *Pepper-land* as pepper was the chief article of their trade. From *Idrīsī* we hear for the first time *Manībār*, which means the land of pepper. As we should expect we must hear of *Malībār* not *Manībār*. How did *Idrīsī* get this word *Manī*. As usual, *Idrīsī* seems to have been careless in critically examining the materials. It is, perhaps a mistake for *Malī* wrongly pronounced to him by his reporters. This seems to be so, for the succeeding writers except *Abul Fidā* and *Dimishqī* have discarded it, and have the form *Malībār* as it should be.

Then the Portuguese, who succeeded to the Arabs' trade in the East, took up this form *Malībār* and gave currency to it. Later on other European nations also kept up their expression. Thus it appears that *Malībār* has nothing to do with *Malaināḍu*, *Malaiyālam*, *Malaivāram*, which are introduced by modern scholars to explain the etymology of *Malabar*.

See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 541.

104. مندورفین *Mas'ūdī*—*Barbier*, p. 394, Vol. I.
 مندورقین *Yāqūt*.
 مندورفین *Qazwīnī*.
 مندوری *Abul Fidā*.

Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, note on p. 403. Le Manuscrit L. porte

منصوری. Le msct. L.2 منصور بن بتي

Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 397 مندوری (منصور بن بتي)

105. See under King 'Ariṭī, Qāyḍī.

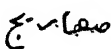
Yāqūt quotes Abū Dulaf as saying that he went from Jājullah to Kashmir, thence to Kabul and returning along the Indian coast, reached the town Mandūrqīn, where forests of qanna and sandalwood grow. Ṭabāshīr is exported from here, and the water at Mandūrqīn comes from tanks¹⁰⁶ made to contain water.

Qazwīnī says that Mandūrfīn is a city of Hind, and quotes the same authority, Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil, but restricts himself only to the mention of qanna forests and exportation of ṭabāshīr.

Abul Fidā reports that it is said in *Qānūn* that Mandarī is one of the cities of Hind, situated between the port and the part of the coast of Ma'bar towards Sarandīb in the valley. The longitude is 120°, and the latitude is 15°.

*Manifattan*¹⁰⁷ :

Abul Fidā mentions Manifattan, and says that it is a place on the coast, in Ma'bar.

106.  P. Tank or cistern.

R. This is identified with *Madura*, the capital of the Pāndya kings.

Mas'ūdī, a traveller to Ceylon and to India, clearly says that Mandarī is opposite to the island Sarandīb; Abul Fidā, a diligent enquirer and an able tabulator of facts, also gives the same impression as to its location. Thus it is clear that Mandarī must be sought for on the coast of Ma'bar. From Yāqūt and Qazwīnī we get certain details which speak of qanna and sandalwood. That the area of Madura abounded once with qanna and sandalwood forests, is too well known.

These facts point to the conclusion that the authors who give the name in different forms refer to one and the same place.

The forms 'Mandūrqīn' and 'Mandūrfīn' given by Arab writers, suggest the original name Maduraippattinam (மதுரைப்பட்டினம்). The suffix pattinam (பட்டினம்) which corresponds to the قين قين of the Arab writers dropped out in course of time.

107. 

R. This may identified with *Negapatam*. (Ptolemy's Nigamos and Rāshid-al-Dīn's Malifattan). It is an important seaport. About the com-

*Manjarūr*¹⁰⁸ :

Dimishqī and *Abul Fidā* give information about Manjarūr.

Dimishqī states that the city of Manjarūr¹⁰⁹ is situated on a river known by the same name, and which empties into the sea where there is ebb and low tide. There is a large quantity of pepper available here.

Abul Fidā says that Manjarūr is situated to the east of Sindābūr, Hannūr and Bāsrūr. It is said that Manjarūr is the biggest town in Manibār (Malabar). Its king is an infidel.

Dimishqī and *Abul Fidā* appear to have independent information of the place Manjarūr.

mencement of the Christian era, it appears to have been a chief city of the little known Naga people from whom its name, *Nāga-pattanam*, was no doubt derived.

It became one of the earliest settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast of India and was called by them the city of Choramandal.

Some interesting relics of the Dutch occupation of the town survive.
Tanjore District Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 243-8.

108. منجور Dimishqī, *Abul Fidā*.

For various readings of the name from non-Arab Geographers, see Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, pp. 73-4.

109. *Dimishqī* has the following account of Manjarūrsah on page 170 :

"Manjarūrsah, one of the cities of Jazrāt, is surrounded by about 1,500 villages and about 70 fortresses situated in the mountains of the Balharā, which are in continuation of the gates of China as far as the country Jazrāt."

Dimishqī is completely confused in his account.

R. Manjarūr is Mangalore, see *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. II, p. 254.

*Mānkīr*¹¹⁰ :

Mas'ūdī tells us that the city of Mānkīr became the capital of the kingdom of the Balharā after the death of Kōrush,¹¹¹ when his kingdom broke up into divers nations and tribes each having a chief of its own. Mānkīr was the great metropolis, situated eighty Sindhi parasangs¹¹² from the sea. Its king was the first

110. مانکیر Abul Faraj, and Istakhrī.

مانکیر - - مانکیر Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 177.

111. Brahman was the first king of the Hindus. During his reign the book *As-sind-Hind* was written. Upon this book other works are founded as the *Azjahīr*, کتاب الانزجیه and *Majastī* کتاب المجسطی. From *Azjahīr* the book *Arkand* derives its origin, and from *Majastī* the book of Ptolemy کتاب بطليموس. Al-Brahman ruled for 366 years. He was succeeded by his son Al-Bahbūd البهبود who reigned for 150 years. In his reign the game of tables or backgammon النرد was invented. After Al-Bahbūd reigned Ramāh رماه or رامات or زامان about 150 years. He had several wars with kings of Persia and China. After him Porus فور came to the throne. Alexander gave him a battle and killed him in a single combat after a reign of 150 years. Then succeeded Daislam دایسلم, who is the author of *Kalīla wa Dimna*. Then succeeded Balhīt بلهیت. In his reign the game of chess شطرنج was invented. He was succeeded by Koresh, کوروش. After his death the Hindus disagreed in point of religion. They divided themselves into parties and formed distinct states, and every chief made himself independent in his district. Sind was ruled by its own king, another ruled over Kanauj, and another resided in the city of Mānkīr, the great metropolis. He was the first who had the name of Balharā. Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, pp. 153-176.

112. 1 parasang=eight miles. Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 178.

who had the name 'Balharā' which became subsequently the title of every sovereign of that great capital down to our time which is the year 332 A.H. The inhabitants of Mānkīr, the residence of the Balharā, spoke the Kīriyya language.¹¹³

Abul Faraḡ says, as does Mas'ūdī, that Mānkīr is the city where the Balharā lives, but has additional information. Mānkīr is forty parasangs in length. The buildings are of teak, and qanna, and divers kinds of wood. It is said that the people of the city own a million elephants for transport business. The king owns sixty thousand elephants. The laundrymen have one hundred and twenty thousand elephants. The biggest temple is the one at Mānkīr, which is one parasang in length.

There are, in that temple, about twenty thousand idols which are set with different kinds of precious metals like gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, ivory and different kinds of stones made artificially. These idols are adorned with brilliant gems. Every year the king of Mānkīr rides to the temple, nay, he goes by foot and returns to his residence riding on horseback. In that temple there is an idol of gold, twelve cubits in height, set on a pedestal of gold at the centre of a cupola made of gold. The whole of it is set with solid white pearls (not perforated) and precious stones, red, yellow, blue and green. They sacrifice victims for this idol. On a certain day appointed in the year, they offer human beings as sacrifice.

Iṣṭakhrī says that the city of Mānkīr where the Balharā resides has an extensive territory.

All these writers have independent information of the place; the only point common to them is about the residence of the Balharā in Mānkīr.

113. See page 95 in this book.

R. For the identification of Mānkīr, see under the Balharā.

A High Mountain North of Fandarīna:

Idrīsī mentions that there is a very high mountain north of Fandarīna, covered with trees, villages and flocks.

*Mountain Kāward*¹¹⁴:

Dimishqī says that in the *qaṣba* of Fātnī is a mountain named Kāward with a big volcano, which emits fire night and day.

*Qayn*¹¹⁵:

Dimishqī mentions Qayn as one of the big cities of Big Ma'bar.

R. The mountain north of Fandarīna is identified with Mount Delly. See under Hīlī for more particulars.

114. *و. جبل المسى كاورد*

R. It is rather difficult to understand *Dimishqī* here. Evidently he is confusing his account of some other place with Fātnī. In Kanaka Sabhai's *Tamils 1800 years ago*, we get a reference to a mountain. On p. 40 he says that the Nāga king who ruled at Kalyāni gave his niece to another Nāga king of the Kānawaddamano mountain, more correctly Kandamādanam, a hill near the modern Ramesvaram on the Indian coast, opposite to Kalyāni. There is no reference to any volcano. At the present day we do not see any trace of rocky area near Ramesvaram. But there are big sand dunes near that place which are said to be covering what were once hilly tracts.

115. *قین*

R. *Dimishqī* mentions it after Qayrah. This may be identified with Kānapper, the modern name of this place is Kāliyārkōvil. It figures with the former name both in the classical Tamil literature and in the campaigns of the Ceylonese general. In the old days the place seems to have been surrounded by dense forests and might have belonged to the division which was called Kāna Nādu (forest-country) including within it a considerable part of what is now Ramnad district and the southern portion of Pudukotta. The *chetty* townlet of Kānādukāttān seems to be a place where a frontier guard was located.

See Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 197.

*Qayrah*¹¹⁶ :

Dimishqī mentions Qayrah as one of the big cities of Big Ma'bar.

Qumār :

See under Kingdom of Qumār.

*Rāskumhurī*¹¹⁷ :

Abul Fidā mentions that Rāskumhurī is the first place in Ma'bar on the side of Manibār. There is a mountain there. Both the mountain and the locality are known as Rāskumhurī.

*Sāhī*¹¹⁸ :

Dimishqī mentions Sāhī before Tāna and after Sūbāra.

*Sandān*¹¹⁹ :

Sandān is mentioned by seven writers:—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Iṣṭakhṛī*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī*, *Idrīsī* and *Abul Fidā*.

116. قيرة Mss. St. Pet. L. et cop., omit this—*Dimishqī* Text p. 173.

R. As *Dimishqī* mentions Qayrah immediately after Kubrā wa Kabīr (Gangaikondapuram), Qayrah may be sought for near there, and perhaps Kāverippattanam, once one of the chief cities of the Cōla kingdom, may answer to that.

Kāverippattanam is a little hamlet now at the mouth of the Cauvery in the south-east corner of the Shiyāli taluk, Tanjore District. It is the same as the Kamara of the Periplus and the Khaberis of Ptolemy.

Tanjore District Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 256-7.

117. راس كُمُورِي

R. This is identified with Cape Comorin.

118. ساهي

It is omitted by Mss. St. Pet. et L. *Dimishqī* Text p. 173.

R. This place is not to be identified.

119. سندان

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, *Mas'ūdī*.
سندان *Iṣṭakhṛī*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī*.

سندان *Idrīsī*, *Abul Fidā* and *Nuwayrī*, part I, pp. 210, 237.

A. G.—9.

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*, mentions Sandān and says that from *Kūlī*¹²⁰ to Sandān is eighteen parasangs; teak and qanna are obtained here. Sandān to *Mulay*¹²¹ is five days' journey.

Mas'ūdī says that Sandān¹²² is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya, where Kanbāyan Sandals are made.

*Iṣṭakhṛī*¹²³ followed by Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī states that Sandān is one of the cities of Hind. There are cathedral mosques in Qāmuhul, Sandān, Saymūr, and Kanbāya where Muslim precepts are openly observed. These cities are fertile and big; they produce cocoanuts, bananas and mangoes; cultivation of paddy is very popular; a great quantity of honey is obtained here; they do not have date trees.

Iṣṭakhṛī and Ibn Ḥawqal alone give the distance between Sūbāra and Sandān as about five *marḥalas*.

120. *كول* de Goeje—footnote on p. 62.

'Kol'—Elliot. Vol. I, p. 15.

121. *Mali* (Malabar). Elliot, Vol. I, p. 15.

122. *Sindābūr*, a place on the coast of the Ladawi Sea. Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

123. The texts of *Iṣṭakhṛī*, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī show slight variations in details.

"Between Sūrabāya and Sindān about five days," Elliot—*Iṣṭakhṛī*, Vol. I, p. 30.

"There are, in these cities, cocoanut trees out of which toddy is tapped." de Goeje—*Ibn Ḥawqal*, p. 231.

".....Sandān: Mangoes, cocoanuts and lemons" Elliot—*Ibn Ḥawqal*, Vol. I, p. 38.

Maqdisī omits details about cathedral mosques and has the following account instead. "Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya are fertile; prices are cheap; they are centres for rice and honey." de Goeje—*Maqdisī*, p. 484.

"From Sandān large quantities of rice and fabrics (Footnote (r) c.

addit. *مع الأشياء البحرية* are obtained; carpets are manufactured; a great quantity of cocoanuts and a good quality of fabrics are exported from here." de Goeje—*Maqdisī*, p. 481.

Idrīsī: From Sūbāra to Sandān is about five *marḥalas*. It is in the second climate; the city is populous and the people are noted for their skill and intelligence. They are wealthy merchants and great travellers. The town is large and many come and go. East of Sandān there is an island which bears the same name and is associated with it. It is large, well-cultivated and date trees, coconut palms, qanna and bamboo¹²⁴ grow there. Sandān is two days' journey from the island of Malaq¹²⁵ situated opposite to Barūj and produces pepper in large quantities; from Sandān to the island Balīq is also two days.

Abul Fidā quotes from 'Azīzī that between the city of Sandān and Maṣūra is fifteen parasangs¹²⁶ and he gives other details¹²⁷ from the same source which seem to be a summary of Idrīsī's account of Sandān and the island of Sandān. Abul Fidā also quotes from Qānūn that Sandān is a city on the coast and gives the longitude and latitude from Qānūn¹²⁸ and Aṭwāl.¹²⁹ In other respects he has independent information that Sandān is in the first climate, one of the coastal cities of Hind, and a dependency of Tāna. The rest of his account¹³⁰ is a confusion of Sandān with Sindābūr.

124. "Coconut palm, kana and rattan grow there." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85.

125. ملن Idrīsī Bod. Lib. Graves 42.

ملن Idrīsī Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

'Mullan,' Elliot—Idrīsī, Vol. I, p. 89.

126. Evidently this is a mistake. Maṣūra is in Sind.

127. "Sandān is the confluence of roads; it is the land of costus, qanna and bamboo, and one of the most important ports."

128. Qānūn longitude 106°
 latitude 19°

129. Aṭwāl longitude 105° 20'
 latitude 19° 15'

130. See page 75 in this book.

İstakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Maqdisī and Idrīsī state that Sandān to Saymūr is five¹³¹ *marḥalas*¹³² and except for Maqdisī, the other three writers say that it is half a parasang, or one and half miles distant from the sea.

131. 'about five'. de Geoe—İstakhrī.

132. 'five days'. Elliot—İstakhrī Vol. I, p. 30.

The texts of Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī show variations in readings of the names, as well as in details regarding the places from Ūtkīn to Kūlī.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: "From Mahrān to Ūtkīn, 4 days; to Mayd, 2 parasangs; to Kūlī, 2 parasangs; to Sandān, 18 parasangs."

Idrīsī: "From Kanbāya by sea to Ūtkīn, 1½ days; to Daybul, 2 days; to Mand, 6 miles; to Kūlī, 6 miles; from Kūlī along the coast to Sūbāra, 5 *marḥalas*; then to Sandān, 5 *marḥalas*."

R. Sandān is identified with *Sindhudurg*.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Mahrān to Ūtkīn, four days' journey, to Mayd, two parasangs, to Kūlī, two parasangs, to Sandān, eighteen parasangs. Thence he goes to Mulay, 5 days, Bullin, 2 days, and Bābattan, 2 days. Thus the Sandān of Ibn Khurdādhbeh must lie in the Gulf of Cambay. This view is strengthened by Idrīsī's account of Sandān on folio 79b, which says that Sandān is two days' journey from the island of Malaq, situated opposite to Barūj (Broach). Thence he gives the distance to Baliq (Bullin of Ibn Khurdādhbeh) as two days. Yule's presumption that this Sandān must be the St. John's point of Rennal between Daman and Mahim may be correct. See *Cathay and the Way Thither*. Vol. IV, p. 64. Mas'ūdī's statement that Sandān is a neighbouring town of Kanbāya, Abul Fidā's that between the city of Sandān and Manṣūra is fifteen parasangs, also point to the same conclusion.

But a reading of Idrīsī's account on fol. 75 suggests that there is yet another Sandān after Sūbāra, which fact is supported by the accounts of İstakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī. While the latter is silent in giving the distance between Sūbāra and Sandān, the other two say that Sandān is about five *marḥalas* from Sūbāra. But all the three writers give the distance from Kanbāya to Sūbāra and from Sandān to Saymūr. Thus the itinerary of these three authors seems to be Kanbāya to Sūbāra, to Sandān, to Saymūr, and to Sarandīb. According to Idrīsī, Sūbāra is five *marḥalas* from Kūlī which is reached from Kanbāya through the islands Ūtkīn, Daybul and Mand after three and a half days and twelve miles. It may be presumed that if one were to avoid the journey to these islands the distance between Kanbāya and

Thus we find Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Mas'ūdī have independent information. Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī follow each other practically in all points. Idrīsī seems to follow Ibn Khurdādhbeh. Idrīsī goes from Kūli to Sūbāra and thence to Sandān, while Ibn Khurdādhbeh comes straight to Sandān from Kūli.

*Saymūr*¹³³:

Saymūr is mentioned by eight writers: *Mas'ūdī*, *Iṣṭakhri*, *Ibn Ḥawqal*, *Maqdisī*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī* and *Dimishqī*.

Mas'ūdī says that Saymūr¹³⁴ is a place on the coast of the Lādawī Sea and Lāriyya language is spoken there.

Iṣṭakhri,¹³⁵ Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī state that Saymūr is one of the cities of Hind and the distance between Sandān to Saymūr is about five *marḥalas* and from Saymūr to Sarandīb is about fifteen

Sūbāra may be the same as stated by the other writers. As Sūbāra, the modern Suparam or Supara (Souppara in the *Periplus*) is near Bassein, north of Bombay, this Sandān has to be sought for in the south, somewhere in the Ratnagiri District. This Sandān may be identified with *Sindhudurg* or *Malvān*.

Malvān north latitude 16° 4' and east longitude 73° 31', a busy port and a chief town of the Malvan sub-division.

In a bay blocked almost entirely by rocky reefs there were formerly three islands, two of them about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and the third separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. On the larger of the two outer islands stands the famous fort of Sindhudurg, and on the smaller the ruined fort of Padmagād, now at low tide, connected with the mainland by a rock of sand. On what was once the inner island and is now part of the mainland, lies, almost hid in palms, the old town of Malvān.

The details given by the Arab authors seem to fit in with the history of Sindhudurg or Malvān. For more details see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X, pp. 346-352.

133. *صيمور* All geographers, and Nuwayrī, Part I, pp. 210, 237.

134. *صفورا* Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

135. The texts of *Iṣṭakhri*, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī differ from one other in certain details: *Iṣṭakhri* has the remark that Qāmuhul is the first city on the borders of Hind which extends as far as Saymūr; the land from Saymūr to Qāmuhul belongs to Hind. From Qāmuhul to Makran and Badha and

marḥalas. There are cathedral mosques in Qāmuhul, Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya where Muslim precepts are openly observed. These cities are fertile and big, they produce cocoanuts, bananas, and mangoes; the greater part of the cultivation is paddy; a great quantity of honey is available here; there are no date trees.

Idrisī says that from Sandān to Saymūr is five *marḥalas*¹³⁶ but is silent on the place reached from Saymūr. He has new information that Saymūr is in the second climate; it is a large, well-built town; cocoanut trees grow here in abundance; *qanna*¹³⁷ also grows here; the mountains produce many aromatic plants which are exported to all the countries.¹³⁸ Saymūr belongs to Hind.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī derive their information about Saymūr from Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muḥalhil.¹³⁹

beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multan—all these belong to Sind.

Elliot translates thus: (Vol. I, pp. 28-29).

"From Saimur to Fāmhal, in Hind, and from Fāmhal to Makrān and Budha, and beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multan, all belong to Sind."

This conveys the impression that from Saymūr as far as Multan belongs to Sind.

"Sindan to Saimur five days, Saimur to Sarandīb, 15 days."

Elliot. Vol. I, p. 30.

"These cocoanut trees out of which toddy is tapped." de Geoje—Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 231.

Mangoes, cocoanuts and lemons. Elliot. Vol. I, p. 38.

Saymūr is one of the cities of Sind. de Geoje—*Maqdisī*, p. 477.

Saymūr is written with S and Ṣ by *Maqdisī* (pp. 477 and 486).

Details about cathedral mosques are omitted and instead he has "Sandān, Saymūr and Kanbāya are fertile, prices are cheap; they are centres for rice and honey." de Geoje—*Maqdisī*, p. 484.

136. "Five days"—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85.

137. "Henna" Ibid.

138. Elliot's version (Vol. I, p. 85) omits the words "to all the countries."

139. He was the author of '*Ajā'ib-al-Buldān*, who travelled in various countries and recorded their wonders.

Yāqūt says that Saymūr is situated on the other slope of the Kāfūr on the north.¹⁴⁰ The inhabitants of Saymūr are of extraordinary beauty, because they are a mixed breed of the Turks and the Chinese. The trade of the Turks is in that direction. This city gives its name to the Saymūrī aloes. It does not grow there but it is imported to this place. The inhabitants have a prayer house situated on the top of a big hill where priests live. In that temple are idols set with precious stones.¹⁴¹ (They have many small kings.¹⁴²) They dress like the Chinese, have synagogues, churches, mosques and fire temples. (They do not slaughter animals after the manner of Muslims, nor eat animals which die a natural death).¹⁴³

Qazwīnī, who gives practically the same account of the place, has the remark that Saymūr is a city of Hind near the confines of Sind.




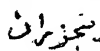
Dimishqī places Saymūr after Fāknūr in the list of the cities of Malabār. Saymūr, he says, is on the coast,¹⁴⁴ in a wide gulf through

140. See under 'Mountain Laḥful Kāfūr'.

141. فیروزج و بیخادق

142. Qazwīnī does not mention this point.

143. "The infidels do not slaughter animals nor do they eat meat, fish or eggs, but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death" Qazwīnī, Vol. II, p. 64.

144. Les trois mss. portent au lieu de مدينة كبيرة (ساحليه) et  au lieu de  omettent les mots depuis  jusqu'à  Dimishqī footnote (g) on p. 173.

R. This is identified with *Shirur*.

As the Iṣṭakhrī group and Idrīsī say that it is five *maḥalas* from Sandān to Saymūr it is suggestive that it will lie south of Sandān at the same distance from which Sandān is removed from Sūbāra. This would mean that it has to be sought for in the South Canara District. This view is strengthened when we take into account the statement of Dimishqī that Saymūr is in a

which big ships from the Gulf of Fāknūr pass by ; both the gulfs have ebb and low tides.

Thus, Mas'ūdī has independent information. Iṣṭakh̲rī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī follow each other in almost all details, though it is noteworthy that Maqdisī does not speak of cathedral mosques and Muslim precepts in his accounts of Sandān and Saymūr. The reason may be either the accounts of Iṣṭakh̲rī and Ibn Ḥawqal were wrong and he might have corrected, or his copies of Iṣṭakh̲rī and Ibn Ḥawqal did not contain any reference to these facts.

It is significant that Iṣṭakh̲rī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Maqdisī end with the island of Sarandīb. Perhaps that was the usual course of route on the coast in their period.

Idrīsī shows his acquaintance with Ibn Ḥawqal but gives, as usual, additional information about the place.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī have altogether a different source from Abū Dulaf whose account seems to be a confusion of places and facts. Yāqūt and Qazwīnī differ in the location of the place Saymūr. This indicates that they might have had also other sources of information.

Dimishqī has an independent account of this place.

wide gulf through which big ships from the Gulf of Fāknūr (Bārkūr) pass by. Further when we know the distance from Saymūr to Ceylon as 15 *marḥalas* from the Iṣṭakh̲rī group, we are convinced that the record of distance given by these authors from Kanbāya to Ceylon is fairly accurate.

Thus it seems clear that Saymūr may be near Fāknūr (Bārkūr).

Perhaps the Saymūr of the Arab authors may be identified with *Shirur*, latitude 13° 56' N, longitude 74° 35'E. It is now a small port on a creak which forms the northern limit of the Madras Presidency. But the ruins of ancient Shirur are extensive in the neighbourhood and they point it out as having been once a large town. *Manual of South Canara District*, Vol. I, p. 3 and Vol. II; p. 243.

Idrīsī's statement that Barūj to Saymūr is 2 days shows his confusion.

*Shāliyāt*¹⁴⁵ :

Shāliyāt is mentioned by *Abul Fidā* who says that it is one of the cities of *Manībār*. The inhabitants of *Shāliyāt* and *Shinklī* are jews, it is further stated, but his narrator does not specify which of these two cities contains jews.

*Sindābūr*¹⁴⁶ :

Mas'ūdī, *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abul Fidā* mention the town *Sindābūr*.

Mas'ūdī says that in the sea of *Hind* are many crocodiles; for it has several estuaries as the estuary of *Sindābūrā*, in the kingdom of *Bāghira* in *Hind*.¹⁴⁷

145. شاليات

R. *Shāliyāt* is generally identified with Beypore, 6½ miles south of Calicut. But it seems more correct to identify it with *Chaliyam* in *Palanchannūr amsam*, an island formed by the Beypore and Kadalundi rivers. On a rocky islet lying south of the entrance to the Beypore river and connected with the mainland by a groyne, the masonry foundations of a formidable fortress have been excavated.

Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts p. 414.

Compare Ibn Baṭṭūṭa :—*Shaliāt*, a most beautiful town, in which the fabrics called by its name are manufactured.

Gibbs translation, p. 240.

The fabrics referred to by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa may be (శల్ల) *callā* Telugu : *sella*, Kanarese : *śalla*, Malayalam : *śalla*, Tulu : *śalle*, muslin, thin mull of loose texture. There is also (శల్ల) *callāri*, cloth of loose texture. (శల్లలి) *callāli*, coloured strips of cloth hanging from buffoon's dresses.

146. سندابور Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*.

سندابور Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*.

سندابور *Idrīsī*, *Dimishqī* *Abul Fidā*, and *Nuwayrī*, Part I, p. 237.

147. "In this sea are many crocodiles, for it has several estuaries and gulfs as the estuary of *Sindābūr* (میدایون) in the kingdom of *Baghar*

باغدر (یاغدر) in India." Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 234.

A. G.—10.

Idrisi says Sindābūr is in the second climate ; from the town of Barūj¹⁴⁸ along the coast to Sindābūr, four *marḥalas*.¹⁴⁹ Sindābūr is situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor ; it is a commercial town and contains fine buildings and rich bazaars. From hence to Tāna¹⁵⁰ upon the coast is four days.

148. Baruh, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

149. Four days, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

150. Bāna (Tāna), Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

❧ Idrisi Bod. Lib. Ms., Graves 42.

R. Sindābūr is identified with *Shadāshivagad*.

Idrisi's statement that from Barūj to Sindābūr is four *marḥalas* cannot fit in either with any of his own accounts of Sandān, Saymūr and other places or with that of any other author. Again his information that Tāna is four days from Sindābūr clashes with Abul Fidā's statement that Sindābūr is situated about three days' journey from Tāna. When we learn from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa that Sindābūr is reached a day before Hunāwar, it becomes clear that Sindābūr lay immediately north of Hunāwar, and Tāna further north. Thus Abul Fidā's statement that Sindābūr is reached from Tāna seems to be correct. Idrisi appears to have confused the two accounts of Sindābūr and Tāna. His account would fit in, if the facts about Tāna are put in before Sindābūr. Supposing Idrisi's account is corrected as suggested above, it would mean that Barūj to Tāna is four *marḥalas*. This would suit in the present position of Tāna, north of Bombay, near Kalyān, and also that of Sindābūr which may be identified either with *Siddhāpur* or *Shadāshivagad*.

Siddhāpūr or *Shiddāpūr*: At the north corner of a large plain about three miles east of Kārwar is a village called Siddhāpūr by Hindus and Saitānpūr by the Muslims. There are two ruined forts, and there are no stones or other remains of buildings. But there are two large stone walls with steps and chambers, which are said to have been made by Hābu kings whose capital was Siddhāpūr. A small navigable inlet, said to have been once large and deep, runs close to the old town. Many crocodiles are found in the Kalinadi at Kadra and Siddhāpur. They eat buffalo calves and sometimes attack men. These details suggest that this Siddhāpūr is the Sindābūr of Mas'ūdī and of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The kingdom of Bāghira, referred to by Mas'ūdī, may be the kingdom of Hābu kings who reigned at Siddhāpur. Bombay Gazetteer, however, questions this theory on the ground that all

Dimishqī mentions Sindābūr as the thirteenth place in the course of the description of cities on the coast of Hind after the city of Barūṣ. Tāna is placed as the ninth and Manībār as the fifteenth. Dimishqī says that Sindābūr is the *qaṣba*; there are in it temples for Hindus and cathedral mosques for Muslims.

Abul Fidā has a combined account of Sandān and Sindābūr. He quotes from some navigators who say that Sandān is Sindābūr and gives the reading as Sindābūr from Abul 'Uqūl. He has also given other details from some travellers who say that Sindābūr is situated at a distance of about three days' journey from Tāna in a gulf of the green sea; that Sindābūr is the last of the cities of Jazrāt and the beginning of Manībār.

*Sinjli and Kabashkān*¹⁵¹:

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā mention *Sinjli* and *Kabashkān*.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that *Sinjli* and *Kabashkān* are reached in one day from Bābattan. Rice is produced here. From hence to the mouth of the river Kūdāfarīd is three parasangs.¹⁵²

Portuguese references and the Sindābūr of the Turkish book of navigation called *Mohit* (1554) belong rather to Chitakul and not to Siddhāpūr.

Chitakul, now known as *Shadāshivagad*, is a port on the north bank of the entrance of the Kalinadi, about three miles north of Kār-wār. *Shadāshivagad* is so called from a ruined fort of that name built on the site of the old port of Chitakul or Cintakora, by a Sonda chief in the seventeenth century.

See *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. XV, Part II, Kanara, pp. 277-79.

151. سنجل وکبشکان — *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*. p. 63, foot-note (h).

A المنيمى sic. B. المنيمى


سنجل وکبشکان — *Idrīsī*.

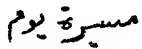
سنجل — *Dimishqī and Abul Fidā*.


152. "From Bās to Sajī and 'Askān is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 16.

Idrīsī informs us that from Jurbatan to Sanjā and Kaykār¹⁵³ is two days.¹⁵⁴ These are maritime towns near to each other. They produce great quantities of rice and corn. From hence to Kal-kayān¹⁵⁵ one day.

Dimishqī mentions that most of the inhabitants of Shinklī¹⁵⁶ are Jews.

153.  Idrīsī—Bod. Lib. Ms., Graves, 42.
Sanji and Kaikasār, Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

154.  Idrīsī—Bod. Lib., Graves, 42.

155.  Idrīsī—Bod. Lib. Poc., 375.

156. Dimishqī mentions Shinklī after Fandarīna.

R. Sinjli is identified with Cranganore (Kōdungallur).

We learn from our authors that two names go together. Sinjli and Kabashkān from Bābattan, (Ibn Khurdādhbeh), Sanjā and Kaikār from Jurbatan (Idrīsī) Shinklī and Shāliyāt (Abul Fidā), Shinklī (Dimishqī) Calicut to Shāliyāt (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa). Thus four out of five writers mention Shinklī in some form or other and three writers couple it with three different names, Kabashkān, Kaykār and Shāliyāt, and give the impression that they lie close to each other, and that Sinjli is the most important town. As Shāliyāt is identified with Beypore, six miles from Calicut, it may be supposed that the town of Sinjli might have existed near Beypore. But Yule in his *Cathay and the Way Thither*, (1866, Vol. I, p. 75), identifies Shinklī with Cranganore. His arguments are convincing, yet the distance given by Ibn Khurdādhbeh as one day to Sinjli and Kabashkān from Bābattan (Baliapatam) and by Idrīsī two days to Sanjā and Kaykār from Jurbatan (near Cannanore) seems to be very short, if Sinjli were to be Cranganore. On the other hand, reference to Jews in Sinjli by Dimishqī and Abul Fidā is impressive and makes us believe that Sinjli can be no other town than Cranganore though the distance is against this conjecture. But there are differences between Elliot's and de Geoe's versions of Ibn Khurdādhbeh; the former has two days, the latter one day; likewise the two manuscript copies of Idrīsī at the Bodleian Library give one day and two days. Then again there are differences in the readings of the names. These facts lead one to the conclusion that when greater numbers of authors agree on one point, the slight variations

Abul Fidā says that Shinkli is one of the cities of Manībār (Malabar). The inhabitants of Shāliyāt and Shinkli are Jews, but the narrator does not specify which of these cities contains Jews.

Idrīsī seems to have had access to the works of Ibn Khurdādhbeh. The information about the places given by Idrīsī agrees in the most part with the account of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, though there are variations in the readings of the place-names by the two writers. Perhaps Idrīsī's copy of Ibn Khurdādhbeh contained such readings with the additional remark that these are maritime towns, or Idrīsī might have checked the information of Ibn Khurdādhbeh in the light of his own enquiries or facts that were current during his period.

Dimishqī and Abul Fidā have independent information.

shown by a few may be ignored, as it is in the case of Mulay (see under Kawlam). Certain points definitely asserted by some authors who are confirmed by non-Arab sources may be taken to be correct and the divergent points given by a few Arab writers may be put aside as mistakes, as in the present case. Dimishqī and Abul Fidā speak of Jews, the former, definitely says that most of the inhabitants are Jews, while the latter says that both Shinkli and Shāliyāt are inhabited by Jews, though his informant knew not which. In the light of Dimishqī's information it may be understood that Shinkli was inhabited by Jews and this is also corroborated by non-Arab sources.

Thus it may be concluded that Shinkli is *Cranganore* (Kodungallūr).

If Sinjli is Cranganore, what is the Kabashkān of Ibn Khurdādhbeh? What is the Kaykār of Idrīsī? From the account of these authors it appears that they might be sought for near Cranganore.

In this connection it may be noticed that the similarity of this name with Kalaikarias of Ptolemy who mentions it along with another town Bramagara between Tundis (Kadalundi) and Muziris (Cranganore) gives strength to a growing conviction in the mind of the reader that Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Idrīsī had also utilised the materials from the Greek and Roman sources without any critical analysis.

Kalaikarias of Ptolemy is identified rather doubtfully with Cahlacory by Kanaka Sabhai Pillay.

See Kanaka Sabhai Pillay, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 18.

*Sūbāra*¹⁵⁷:

Sūbāra is mentioned by seven writers from *Mas'ūdī* (943) to *Abul Fidā* (1273-1331).

Mas'ūdī says that *Sūbāra*¹⁵⁸ is a neighbouring town of *Kanbāya* where *Kanbāyan* sandals are made and *Lāriyya* language is spoken.

Iṣṭakhri, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* state that *Sūbāra*¹⁵⁹ is one of the cities of *Hind*¹⁶⁰ and is about four *marḥalas* from *Kanbāya*.

The two copies of *Idrīsī's* manuscripts in the Bodleian Library say that *Sūbāra* is about five *marḥalas* from *Kūlī*¹⁶¹ along the coast. *Kūlī*¹⁶², as stated by these Mss. is reached from *Kanbāya* through the islands *Ūbkīn*, *Daybul* and *Mand* after travelling three and a half days and twelve miles.¹⁶³

Idrīsī has additional information. *Sūbāra* is in the second climate. It is populous, a busy town, and one of the entrepôts of India. They fish for pearls here. *Sūbāra* is in the vicinity of

157. *سُوْبَارَة* *Mas'ūdī*, *Iṣṭakhri*, *Ibn Hawqal*, *Maqdisī* *Idrīsī* and *Dimishqī*.

سفالة *Abul Fidā*. He distinguishes it from *سفالة الزنج*

سُوْتَارَة *Nuwayrī*, Part I, p. 237.

158. *Safura* is a place on the coast of *Ladawi Sea*. *Sprenger—Mas'ūdī*, p. 346.

159. "*Sūrabāya*"—*Elliot—Iṣṭakhri*, Vol. I, p. 30.

160. It is one of the cities of *Sind*. de *Geoje—Maqdisī*, p. 476.
It is one of the cities of *Hind*, *ibid*, p. 476.

161. "From *Kanbaya* to *Sūbāra* about five days," *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 85.

162. "*Būlī*", *Idrīsī Ms.* Poc. 375.

163. From *Kanbāya* to the island *Ūbkīn* a day and a half; from *Ūbkīn* to the island *Daybul* two days; from *Daybul* to the island *Mand* six miles; from *Mand* to *Kūlī* six miles; from *Kūlī* along the coast to *Sūbāra* about five *marḥalas*. *Idrīsī Mss.*

Tāra¹⁶⁴ **تارا** a small island on which some cocoanut trees and costus grow.

Dimishqī places Sūbāra as the seventh in the list of places on the coast of Hind, after Barūṣ in the direction of Malabar. Sūbāra is placed in his list before Tāna which is the ninth and Sindābūr the thirteenth place.

Abul Fidā quotes, in part, Idrīsī for details about the town, but differs from him by giving a new reading of the name as Sufāla,¹⁶⁵ and assigning it to the first climate. He has also one additional piece of information that Sūbāra is on the coast in the land of pirates and quotes longitude and latitude from *Qānūn* and *Aṭwāl*.¹⁶⁶

All the sources except Mas'ūdī, Maqdisī and Dimishqī give the distance from Sūbāra to Sandān as five *marḥalas*.¹⁶⁷ Regarding the distance of Sūbāra from the sea, Iṣṭakh̲rī followed by Ibn Ḥawqal, Maqdisī¹⁶⁸ and Idrīsī give half a parasang or one and a half miles; the other geographers are silent.

164. Idrīsī—Bod. Lib. Ms. Graves, 42 omits *Tāra*.

"Bara", Elliot, Vol. I, p. 85.

165. Abul Fidā gives also another reading of the place taken by him from Idrīsī and Bīrūnī as Sūfāra **سوفارة**. This is not confirmed by either Elliot's version of Idrīsī and the two Mss. in the Bodleian, or by Dr. Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī, but Elliot's version of Rāshid-al-Dīn from Bīrūnī has Sūfāra. See Elliot, Vol. I. p. 66.

166. *Qānūn* and *Aṭwāl*. Longitude, 104° 55', Latitude 19° 35'.

167. "Ten days," Elliot, Vol. I, p. 39, Footnote 2 on the same page, says:

"So according to Gildemeister; but 'five' seems to be the right number. See Iṣṭakh̲rī and Idrīsī."

168. The Mss. of Maqdisī show variations between one, about one, and half a parasang as being the distance of Sūbāra from the sea.

Thus we find that Mas'ūdī has independent information. Iṣṭakhrī is followed by Ibn Ḥawqal¹⁶⁹ and Maqdisī. Idrīsī, based upon Ibn Ḥawqal, has additional information, which is followed by Abul-Fidā who, however, differs from him on certain points, gives one additional item of information and quotes the longitude and latitude from Qānūn and Aṭwāl.

Tāna¹⁷⁰:

Tāna is mentioned by four writers, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā.

Mas'ūdī says that Tāna¹⁷¹ is a place on the coast of the Lārawī sea, and Lāriyya language is spoken there.

Idrīsī relates that from Sindābūr to Tāna¹⁷² upon the coast is four days. It is a big town¹⁷³ upon a great gulf where vessels anchor, and from whence they set sail. (Qanna grows on its mountains and plains; ṭabāshīr is gathered from the roots of qanna* and exported to all countries in the east and west).¹⁷⁴

169. Ibn Ḥawqal has one additional remark that Sūbāra possesses a large territory, as he has already said of Qāmuhul and Kanbāya.

R. Sūbāra is identified with modern *Suparem* or *Supara* (Souppara in the Periplus) near Bassein, north of Bombay.

170. تانه Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī, Dimishqī and Abul Fidā.

تانه - تانش Nuwayrī, Part I, pp. 210, 211, 237.

171. تابه Barbier—Mas'ūdī, p. 330.

172. فانه Idrīsī, Bod. Lib., Graves, 42.

Bāna (Tāna), Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

173. "Pretty town." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

صول القنا* Idrīsī, Bod. Mss.

174. "In the neighbouring mountains kanā and tabāshīr grow. The roots of kanā which are gathered here are transported to the east and to the west".—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

From Tāna to Fandarīna, along the coast, is four *marḥalas*.¹⁷⁵

Dimishqī says that Tāna is in the second climate.¹⁷⁶ It is on the coast.¹⁷⁷ Tānash¹⁷⁸ is on the coast; there is a cathedral mosque for the Muslims; then a port¹⁷⁹ full of merchants and merchandise.

Abul Fidā says that Tāna is in the first climate, one of the cities of Hind on the coast, on the border of Lārān. He quotes in part Idrīsī,¹⁸⁰ gives different accounts from other sources,¹⁸¹ and

175. "Bāna (Tāna) to Fandarīna is four days' journey," Elliot, Vol. I, p. 89.

176.

الاقليم الثاني - - - وبعض الغند الساحلى من تانه و صيمر
و سندان و جزيرة سيلان Dimishqī, p. 19.

177. Mss. St. Pet. et L. om. وسامى ساحلية وتانه ساحلية
Foot note (c) p. 173, Dimishqī.

178. Dimishqī is evidently confusing Tāna and Tānash. Tāna is associated with Tānshī clothes, as we learn from Bīrūnī's account quoted by Abul Fidā. Perhaps Dimishqī, who knew this fact, thought that Tāna and Tānash are two different places.

179. Mss. St. Pet., L. et Cop. omettent ثم فرضة كثيرة التجار والاموال
Foot note (d), p. 173, Dimishqī.

Mehren translates thus: "Thanesh, situee non loin de la mer, avec une grande mosquée, est un lieu d'etape pour les marchands et contient beaucoup de richesses." Mehren—Dimishqī, p. 233.

180. Idrīsī: "The plain as well as mountains here have forests of qanna. Ṭabāshīr is extracted from qanna and exported to all countries."

181. Some travellers: "Tāna is in Jazrāt on the eastern side, and Manī-bār is in a westerly direction from it."

Ibn Sa'īd: "Tāna is the last of the cities of Lār, well known in the mouths of merchants. The inhabitants of this coast of India are all infidels who worship idols. Muslims also live among them."

also the longitude and latitude from *Qānūn* and *Aṭwāl*.¹⁸²

Thus we find that Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī and Dimishqī have independent information though the accounts of Mas'ūdī and Abul Fidā show in effect that Tāna is a coastal town. Abul Fidā quotes in part Idrīsī and also gives divers accounts from various sources which are contradictory to each other.

*Tanḍā*¹⁸³:

Dimishqī mentions that *Tanḍā* is one of the cities of the Big Ma'bar.

Bīrūnī: "Tāna is on the coast and is associated with the name Tānshi تانشي and from it the Tānshiyya fabrics." (The information from Bīrūnī as quoted by Abul Fidā is not found in Dr. Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī).

Some travellers: "Tāna and neighbouring villages are surrounded by water and it is an island in the sea. Its correct longitude is 92° rather than 104°."

182. *Qānūn*: Longitude 104° 20'

Latitude 90° 20'

Aṭwāl: Longitude 92°

Latitude 19° 20'

R. Tāna is identified with *Thana* between Bassein and Bombay.
For a discussion see under *Sindābūr*.

183. تندا

R. *Tandā* is identified with *Tondi*. *Tondi* is a port about twenty miles east from Kāliyār Kōvil and is on the road from Madura. This was known to classical Tamils as Coḷan Tondi (கோழன் தொண்டி) and was a great centre of eastern trade including that of the Chinese in the days of classical Tamil literature. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Śilappadikāram*, p. 204, note 1. It seems to have retained some of its importance even in the centuries of Muslim invasions. See Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 206.

*Tandiyūr*¹⁸⁴ :

Abul Fidā states that Tandiyūr is at the extremity of Manībār. It is situated to the east of Ra's Haylī and has a number of gardens.

*Tūsārī*¹⁸⁵ :

Dimishqī mentions Tūsārī, stating that it has a big gulf through which ships pass.

*Ūtkīn*¹⁸⁶ :

Ūtkīn is mentioned by *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī*.

184. تندپور

R. This may be identified with *Kadalundi* or *Kadaltondi*, the raised ground by the sea standing on an inlet about four miles south of Beypore. It is now a small port and a fishing village; but persons on the spot seem to think that it must formerly have been one and in communication with the backwater. This Kadalundi is supposed by some as Tyndis of Ptolemy but K. S. Pillay has a different suggestion that it was near the site of the modern Pallikkari about five miles north of Quilandy. However, if Tyndis of Ptolemy and Tandiyūr of Abul Fidā were to be taken to refer to one and the same place Kadalundi seems to be a better suggestion in view of the statement by Abul Fidā that Tandiyūr is at the extremity of Manībār.

See Kanaka Sabhai Pillay, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 18. *Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo Districts*, Vol. I, p. 415.

185. ترساری. Paris Mss. ترسای

It is mentioned by *Dimishqī* as the third city before Sūbāra.

R. This place cannot be identified.

186. اوتکین

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, P. 62 F. note (k) A

B

جزیرة اوبکین *Idrīsī*.

'Bakar'

Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Vol. I, p. 15.

'Isle of Aubkīn' *Elliot—Idrīsī*, Vol. I, p. 85.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that it is four days' journey from Mahrān in Sind to Ūtkīn. In this land qanna is cultivated up the hills and corn is grown in the valleys. The inhabitants are brigands, proud and lawless.

Idrisī includes the isle of Ūtkīn in the second climate. He describes that it is one and a half day's sail¹⁸⁷ from Kanbāya and from Ūtkīn to Daybul two days.

187. "Two and a half days." Elliot, p. 85.

R. It may be somewhere in the Gulf of Cambay. See under Kūlī.

(c) LIST OF DOUBTFUL PLACES

Abīna¹⁸⁸ :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that Abīna¹⁸⁸ is four days' journey from Ūrnashīn (Orissa). There are elephants in that place.

188. ^{أبينة} Ibn Khurdādhbeh, p. 64. Footnote (l) B, ^{أبينة}

Ainā. Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh, p. 16.

de Goeje, the editor and translator of Ibn Khurdādhbeh, transliterates the word as *Abyna*. de Goeje's translation p. 43.

"Ainā is four days' journey, where also elephants and asses are met with." Elliot. Vol. I, p. 16.

Footnote 4 on the same page says that "Aina" may possibly be meant for Andhra, "Telingana."

R. The route from place to place as narrated by Ibn Khurdādhbeh seems to indicate the direction from south to north, while Elliot has taken it to mean *vice versa*.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says: From Bābattan they reached Sinjlī and Kabashkān in one day. Thence they reached Kūdāfarīd at a distance of three parasangs, thence to Kaylkān and Lawa and Kanja after two days' journey. Leaving Kanja they reached Samandar at a distance of ten parasangs. They went from Samandar to Ūrnashīn at a distance of twelve parasangs. Then from Ūrnashīn they reached Abīna after four day's journey.

Thus it is very clear that Abīna is to be sought for north of Orissa and not south of it.

It is not very easy to identify this place now. Perhaps it may be sought for round about Tamluk, Midnapore District, Bengal. Tamluk is historically the most interesting place in the district. It is frequently mentioned in Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical works. Ptolemy also has noticed it in his geography, placing it on the river Ganges. Chinese pilgrims mention it several times. As it was a port at which merchants and others embarked for Ceylon and the Far East, it is very likely that the Arabs also might have known it, or any other smaller place, round about Tamluk, which they called Abīna.

For a detailed account of Tamluk, see *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXVI, p. 220.

*Fayṣūr*¹⁸⁹ :

Fayṣūr is mentioned by Qazwīnī who says that it is a country in Hind.

*Hūrīn*¹⁹⁰ :

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh* mentions that Hūrīn is one of the famous cities of Hind, although he gives no account of it.

*Jājulla*¹⁹¹ :

This place is mentioned by Yāqūt and by Qazwīnī.

Yāqūt who has his information from Abū Dulaf says that he went to Jājullah which is situated on the top of a mountain of which half rises over the sea and the other half over the land. There is a king like the king of Kalah.

The inhabitants eat wheat and eggs, but do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims.

They have a big temple. The inhabitants were the only people to oppose Alexander when he invaded India.

Cinnamon is brought hither and exported to the rest of the world. The cinnamon tree is a free tree and belongs to no one individual.

The inhabitants dress like the people of Kalah, except that during festivals they dress themselves in Yemnīte dress.

They have an observatory; study the properties of the stars carefully, and have complete knowledge of them. Among the stars, they worship قَلْبُ الْأَسَد (The lion heart). Superstitions have effect on their character.

189. فَيْصُور

190. هُورِين

191. جَاوَلَّة Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.

Qazwīnī repeats some of this information and adds that the city is well fortified, and that if the people wish any occurrence to happen they exert their will-power to achieve it and continue to do so till it happens. It is related that one of their kings sent to Kisrā, presents which included two sealed boxes. When they were opened each contained a man. When these two men were questioned, they said, "If we wish to achieve anything we strive with our will-power and it happens." They disapproved that account but the two continued to say, "If there is an enemy for the king, he is not repelled by force. We exert our will-power and he dies." Then they said to the two men, "Exert your will to bring out your own death." The two men asked them to shut the door of their respective boxes. They did so and when they returned and opened the door they found the two men dead. They learnt to their sorrow that the two men had spoken the truth.

*Kalba and Kanām*¹⁹² :

Ibnul Faqīh and *Qazwīnī* both relate the same story but in connection with two towns of different names. Neither gives definite information about the exact location of the place to which reference is made.

Ibnul Faqīh, speaking of *Kanām*, says that it is the territory between *Sind* and *Hind*. On the authority of 'Abdullāh Ibn 'Amr Ibn al 'Ās, he says that in this place there is a duck of brass on a brass column. On the 'Āshūra day the duck spreads its wings, stretches out its beak and pours out sufficient water to satisfy their fields, animals and estates till the next year.*

Qazwīnī tells the same story in connection with a place called *Kalba*, which he says is in *Hind*.

192.

کَنَام - کَلْبَة

* The information about the supply of water may have reference to aqueducts.

*Mandal*¹⁹³ :

Qazwīnī says that Mandal is a city in Hind. A large quantity of aloes is obtained here, called Mandalī aloes but the aloes does not grow here.

*Mountain Lahful-Kāfūr*¹⁹⁴ :

We have information of this place from *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*.

Yāqūt tells us that, after leaving *Malībār*, *Abū Dulaf* went to *Lahful-Kāfūr*, which is a big mountain where there are some towns overlooking the sea. Some of them are *Qāmarūn*, *Qamārayān* and *Ṣanf*, associated with *Mandal-Qāmarūnī*, *Qumārī* and *Ṣanfi* aloes. *Saymūr*¹⁹⁵ is found on the other slope of the mountain.

Qazwīnī mentions *Jabal-al-Kāfūr*, a big mountain in Hind overlooking the sea with many towns on its slopes. Of these the town of *Qumār* is associated with *Qumārī* aloes, *Qāmarūn* with *Qāmarūnī* aloes, *Ṣanf* with *Sanfi* aloes.*

Qālūn : قالون

Qālūn is mentioned by *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* as one of the cities of Hind, although he gives no description of the place.

Qazdār : قزدار

Qazdār is mentioned by *Qazwīnī*, who says that it is a country in Hind, and that the inhabitants of this country are very honest.

193. مندل

194. لصف الكافور Yāqūt.

جبل الكافور Qazwīnī.

195. See under *Saymūr*.

*For details on aloes and camphor mentioned under *Mandal*, and *Mountain Kāfūr*, see the chapter on *Products*.

Sāmal : سامل

Sāmal is mentioned by *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* as one of the famous cities of Hind, although no account of it is given.

Samandar :¹⁹⁶

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and *Idrīsī* mention Samandar.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that from Kanja to Samandar is ten parasangs. Rice is produced here. (Aloe is imported to this place, from a distance of fifteen or twenty days' journey through sweet water from Qāmrūn and other places).¹⁹⁷ From Samandar to Ūrnashīn¹⁹⁸ is twelve parasangs.

Idrīsī says that from Kanja to Samandar is thirty miles. Samandar is a large commercial town where good profits are made. (The inhabitants possess much merchandise and goods. Many come and go to that place.)¹⁹⁹ It is one of the dependencies of Qannawj, the king of these cities.²⁰⁰ The city of Samandar is situated on a *khawr*²⁰¹ that reaches it from the city of Qashmir. Grains, plenty

196. سمنند *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Idrīsī*.

Samundar, *Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

Samandār, *Elliot—Idrīsī*, Vol. I, p. 90.

سمنندو *Nuwayrī*, Part I, p. 237.

197. The account within brackets is given under Kanja by *Elliot*. It is slightly different :

“From Kūra to Kilakān, Lūār and Kanja is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kāmūl and other neighbouring places by the fresh-water route in fifteen days.” *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 16.

198. Urasīr. *Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 16.

199. *Elliot's* version omits this. See p. 90.

200. وهي من اجمال القنوج وهو ملك تلك البلاد

201. خور inlet, creek. *Elliot's* translation has 'river'. See, Vol. I, p. 90.

of rice and corn, are available in this city.²⁰² Aloe wood is brought here from the country of Kārmūt,²⁰³ fifteen days' distance, by a river of which the waters are sweet..... Opposite²⁰⁴ to this city there is a big island and the distance between the two is one day. This island is well peopled and frequented by merchants from all countries. From here to the island of Sarandīb is four days. To the north at seven days' distance from Samandar is the city of Qashmir the inner²⁰⁵ celebrated throughout India, which is under the rule of Qannawj.

202. "Rice and various grains, especially excellent wheat, are to be obtained here."

Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

203. (Kamrup ?) Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

204. *تسامتها* is in the original, it is corrected as *تساميها*

205. *قشمر الداخله*

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION

We should expect an ethnological account of the Indian people to include five separate subjects, namely, race, language, caste, religion and custom. The first of these subjects, race or descent, is an involved problem, and there is much division of opinion among present day scholars in this field. The second, language, can be dealt with more conclusively on account of the accessibility of the available materials. The remaining three, caste, religion and custom, depend on personal observations. It is on these subjects that a certain amount of information is furnished by the Arab writers, but curiously enough, the questions of language and race do not appear to have engaged their attention.

Mas'ūdī alone says that the people of Hind speak Kīriyya (Kanarese ?) language and that they are a distinct race from the Negroes and *Damdim*.

The accounts of ethnology are gathered principally from the works of the first group of writers who cover the period from about the ninth to the tenth century A.D. The leading writers who furnish information on the people are Sulaymān, Abū Zayd, Ibnul Faqīh, Mas'ūdī and Abul Faraj. Of these, Mas'ūdī was in all probability the only one who actually travelled in the East, and his observations are confined to the area lying between Ceylon and Kanbāya, a city north of the Narbada. The other writers, as we have seen, obtained their information by inquiry from merchants, travellers and wandering *faqīrs* and from a study of the works of previous writers.

These authors rarely refer to any particular place when they give information about the people. Sulaymān mentions Kūkam-malī but does not speak about its people. He gives a few details about the people of Tilwa though he has confused it with the coun-

try of pepper. Further his information on Hind and its people is mixed rather indiscriminately with that on China and the Chinese.

The accounts of these writers, as it happens, refer principally to the coastal cities of the Indian peninsula, Ceylon and other islands in the East Indies. As the trade of Southern India with Arabia, Persia, Rome and Egypt on the west, and the East-Indies and China on the east, was very extensive at this period, it may be deduced that the people with whom the Arabs came into contact were preponderantly of South Indian origin and culture, and that the accounts under consideration refer chiefly to the people of Southern India.

This view is confirmed by numerous details. For example, rice is the chief food in the South and both Sulaymān and Ibnul Faqīh have drawn attention to this, declaring that Indians eat rice only. The Hindu custom of eating in seclusion is noticed by Abū Zayd. This custom, it should be realised, prevails even to this day among the divers castes of the people of the South. The habit of bathing early in the morning before breakfast is common among all the Hindus in India, yet it is not rigidly observed except in the South. Ceremonies and conventions observed on the death of a person, the dress, ornaments, caste system, institution of *dēva-dāsis*—all these details combine to give a picture of Southern India. It is not easy, however, to establish clearly to which community of the South these various details refer. They may refer to the peoples on the west coast, the *Kanarese* and the *Malayalis*, or those in the extreme south, the *Tamils*. The Arabs do not seem to have known the *Andhras*. Information on various forms of ordeals, punishment, and death ceremonies might well refer to customs prevalent among the *Malayalis* and the *Tamils*. The spirit of sacrifice on the part of the people for their kings, described by Abū Zayd, may refer to the *Mahāmakham* festival instituted by the *Perumāls* of Malabar.

The account about the people of Hind seeking learned assemblies in Sarandīb (Ceylon) and of the mischief effected by some of the Indians there indicates frequent intercourse between these two countries.

Abul Faraj's detailed account of the religious sects shows the prevalence in India of *Śaktism*, *Śaivism* and *Jainism*. These remarks, it is evident, are also applicable to Southern India.

The complete absence of any reference to Buddhist teaching in these accounts indicates that the struggle between Buddhism and Śaivism was long since concluded and that the worship of Śiva had become common again.

It is well-known that the principal seat and great centre of the cult of Śiva is Benares (Vārāṇasī), a city whose world-wide celebrity has earned for it the title of Kāśī 'the resplendent.' It was one of the first cities to acquire a reputation for sanctity and is still regarded as the most sacred spot in all India.

Pilgrimage to Benares is not mentioned by these writers, who, however, describe Multan as the Makka of the Hindus. Mention is made of Gangā-yātra (pilgrimage to the Ganges); yet it is not possible to say that this pilgrimage included a visit to the city of Benares, on the banks of the Ganges, since the account only testifies to the holiness of the river Ganges.

Such instances of vague and meagre information on the part of these Arab writers strengthen in the reader's mind a growing conviction that on the whole they were not particularly interested in the study of the civilisation and culture of the Hindus. This attitude doubtless proceeds from their firm adherence to their own Faith, a feeling which discouraged them from inquiring too deeply into the teachings and practices of other religions which they did not esteem as highly as their own Faith. A narrow-minded writer might well have thought it even irreligious to write about such things. Even Bīrūnī, the distinguished savant, who wrote an Arabic book on Brahmanical India gave a title¹ to his work "the

1. "An accurate description of all categories of Hindu thought, as well those which are admissible as those which must be rejected." Dr. Sachau.

awkwardness of which seems to arise from the punctiliousness of a delicate conscience."

It may be wondered why, if this is the case, the Arabs mention Multan. But they were in direct contact with Multan, since it was in Sind and the priests of the temple used to sell them the finest quality of aloes, presented to the idol as offerings by the pilgrims coming from distant parts of the land. Therefore they are able to furnish many details about Multan, the description of the idol, its worship, and other facts, although this does not imply any particular interest on their part.

Facts on ethnology are also gathered from the fourth group of writers, chiefly from Idrīsī and occasionally from Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Dimishqī. The facts mentioned by them are in the main repetitions from the first group of writers, with additions and such other details as had become current among the writers with the increase of their knowledge of India which began chiefly with the expeditions of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the subsequent Muslim occupation of Northern India. Somnat is mentioned as another place of pilgrimage for the Hindus and a detailed description of the idol and its worship is given by Yāqūt and Qazwīnī. However, not a single writer in this group travelled in India.

It may be observed in conclusion that though these accounts may appear at first sight to be a mass of confusion, vague, inadequate and devoid of historical interest, they no doubt supplied for Arabic readers some information on a country about which they knew little, while a modern student possessing a knowledge of Hindu culture will discover germs of truth which throw light on the state of India in the period to which they relate.

In this connection it may be explained that detailed footnotes are inserted where necessary, to elucidate the information and to correct it where advisable.

CHAPTER II
ETHNOLOGY

ETHNOLOGY

Mas'ūdī distinguishes the people of Hind from other black nations such as the Zanj² and the Damādim³ and others, as regards intellect, government, philosophy, robust constitution and purity of colour. He mentions that they have various institutions, and has given many sketches of their history and usages in his books *Akḥbār-al-zamān* and *Kitāb al-aṣṣaṭ*.

As regards their personal appearance, *Sulaymān* says that the Chinese are more beautiful than the people of Hind, and are more like the Arabs in their dress and mode of riding. The Chinese, in their public ceremony, are like the Arabs.

Language :

Mas'ūdī alone gives precise details as to language. He says that the language of Sind is different from that of Hind. The inhabitants of Mānkīr, which is the residence of the Balharā, speak the Kīriyya (Kanarese ?) language which derives its name from the place Karah⁴ where it is spoken. The Lāriyya⁵ language (Lata ?) is spoken in coastal cities such as Saymūr, Sūbāra, and Tāna and in other regions associated with the name of the Lārawī sea, which washes those countries.

2. The name of the negro tribes of the east coast of Africa, given by the Arab historians to the rebel slaves who, having previously rebelled in 75 A.H. (694 A.D.) for fifteen years terrorised lower Mesopotamia. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 1213.

3. الدمادم Barbier, p. 163.

4. كره Barbier, p. 381. Sprenger does not mention this name.
See p. 388.

5. لاريية Barbier, p. 381.

Dress, Ornaments:

There are a few particulars to be gathered as to the dress and ornaments of the people.

Sulaymān says that the people of Hind wear two fūṭa.⁶ Both men and women wear bracelets of gold and jewels.

Ibnul Faqīh: The people of Hind wear two ear rings; gold bracelets are worn by men and women.

6. "Fūṭa فُوطَة sing. of فُوط which signifies cloths that are brought from Es-Sind, thick or coarse, and short, used as waist-wrappers. Az. says 'I have not heard this word in aught of the language of the Arabs, and I know not whether it be an Arabic word or of the language of the foreigners, but I have seen in El-Koofeh striped waist-wrappers, which are sold, and are bought by the camel drivers and the Arabs of the desert and the servants and the people of the lowest sort, who use them as waist-wrappers and call them thus'."

IDrd. says that it is not an Arabic word: "it is added in K. or it is a word of the language of Es-Sind, arabicized from فُوطَة with a dammeh not fully sounded. Sm. adds: it is called with us in El-Yemen انزهرية and by reason of frequency of usage, they have derived from it the verb فُوطَ He clad him or attired him with a فُوطَة

The diminutive of فُوطَة is فُوطِيَّة The plural فُوطَات is also applied to short napkins with striped extremities, woven at El-Mahalleh El-Kubra, in Egypt, which a man puts upon his knees to preserve himself from being soiled at meals, and with which he wipes his hands after washing." See Lane sub. voc.

R. It is from the Hindi word पहिन्ट phēṇṭ, phaiṇṭ waist-band, belt, fob, the waist, (when belted) phēṇṭ bāndhna to gird up the loins. पहिन्टा phēṇṭā, a waist-band (without a fringe) a small turban. Platts, *Hindustani Dictionary*,

Beard :

As regards their personal appearance, *Sulaymān* relates that the people of Hind wear a long beard.⁷ Sometimes, he comments, "I have seen some with a beard three cubits in length.⁸ They do not cut their moustaches."

Ibnul Faqīh has the same information but he does not speak of moustaches.

Character :

Idrīsī has stated that the Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements are well-known, and they are so renowned for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side. Hence the country is flourishing and the condition of the people is prosperous. Among other typical instances of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related :

When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground, and make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining the remission of the debt.⁹

7. The Hindus grow beards on the death of a near relation. This custom is especially prevalent among the people on the West Coast. Cf. with the account of *Zayn al-Dīn-al-Ma'barī* 985 (1577 A.D.) given in Rowlandson's Translation of *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidīn*, p. 62.

"Brahmans may not shave for six months after marriage, for a year after the death of a parent, and till the birth of the child when their wives are pregnant." E. Thurston, *Ethnographic notes on Southern India*, p. 3.

"Men may not shave the face and wear a beard until their marriage." *Ibid*, p. 7.

R. Sometimes the Hindus grow a beard to propitiate the Deity.

8. Only *Sanyāsis* grow long beards, as described by *Sulaymān*.

9. Compare the following account in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 267 :

Qazwīnī mentions that the people of Hind are infidels and value their life and wealth.

Cleanliness :

Sulaymān complains that neither the people of Hind nor those in China bathe when they suffer from ceremonial pollution. The Chinese do not clean with water after calls of nature but wipe with paper. The people of Hind bathe early in the morning every day and then eat. They do not touch their women when the custom is upon them but shun them, keeping them out of doors.¹⁰ But the Chinese have commerce with them and do not keep them out of doors. The people of Hind clean their teeth ; they will not eat anything before cleaning their teeth and taking a bath. The Chinese do not do so.

Ibnul Faqīh repeats some of these facts¹¹ and makes an additional remark to the effect that the customs of the Chinese are like those of the Mages.

“The custom on the Malabar coast, when summary payment was demanded of a debtor, was to draw a circle round him with a green branch, and imprecate on him the name of a particular divinity whose curse was to fall upon him if he left the circle before satisfying the claim of his creditor”.

R. Many writers have noticed the prevalence of this custom and marvelled at the strictness of the arrest.

This custom has disappeared now.

10. All Hindu women take the ceremonial bath after the courses have ceased ; but the custom of ‘keeping out of doors’ is strictly observed even today by the community of the Brahmans of South India. The expression “keeping out of doors” means : the woman, when menstruating, takes up her residence in a room generally outside the main entrance to the house ; food and drink will be supplied to her from time to time in separate dishes that will not be touched by other members of the house.

See Hopkins, *The Ordinances of Manu*, Lect. IV, 40, 41, 42.

11. *Ibnul Faqīh* does not notice the custom of keeping women out of doors and of cleaning with paper.

Manners :

In eating and drinking, husbandry, dressing and in the art of healing, *Mas'ūdī* relates that the Hindu and the Chinese nations have their own notions.

Slaughtering of Animals :

We learn from *Sulaymān* that the Chinese and the people of Hind do not slaughter¹² an animal of whose flesh they intend to eat, as Muslims do, but strike at the top of its head till it dies.

Ibnul Faqīh follows *Sulaymān* in making this assertion, but adds a slight variation in saying that the people of Hind kill what they want to eat.¹³

12. *Dhabah* ذبح the act of cutting the throat. In the language of the law, it denotes the act of slaying an animal according to the prescribed forms, without which its flesh is not lawful as food for a Muslim.

See Sūra II, Verses 172-173. The injunctions in the Traditions are more explicit ; "May God curse those who slay without repeating the name of God, in the same manner as the polytheists did in the names of their idols...."

According to Sunnī law *Dhabah* is of two kinds (i) *Ikhtiyārī* of choice and (ii) *Iẓtīrārī* of necessity. The first is effected by cutting the throat above the breast and reciting the words *Bismillāhi Allāhu-Akbar*, "In the name of Allāh, Allāh is most Great," and the second by reciting these words upon shooting an arrow or discharging a gun. The latter act, however, is merely a substitute for the former and accordingly is not of any account unless the former be impracticable. It is absolutely necessary that the person who slays the animal should be a Muslim or a *kitābī* (a Jew or a Christian) and that he should do it in the name of God alone.

13. It is a very sweeping remark, and not entirely correct, for certain animals are slaughtered even by Brahmans, but only for purposes of sacrifice.

Food, Manner of eating :

Concerning the food eaten in this country, *Sulaymān* declares that the people of Hind eat rice¹⁴ while the Chinese eat wheat and rice. The people of Hind do not eat wheat.

Ibnul Faqīh says definitely that the people of Hind do not eat wheat, but rice only.

Idrīsī remarks that the inhabitants of Nahrwārah¹⁵ live upon rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, *māsh*, fish and animals that have died a natural death, for they never kill winged or other animals.

Abū Zayd mentions that there are some among the people of Hind who never eat out of the same dish or upon the same table and would deem it a very great sin if they did. When they come to Sirāf and a prominent merchant invites them,—they may be a hundred more or less—they must have each a separate dish, entirely apart from the rest.¹⁶

Drink :

There are several authors who have commented on the restraint practised by the people of Hind in the matter of consuming intoxicants.

14. It is clear from the account of *Sulaymān* and *Ibnul Faqīh* that they are speaking of South Indians only.

15. For an account of Nahrwārah see *Elliot—Idrīsī*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

16. The practice of eating in seclusion is common to all the Hindus ; it is rigidly observed by the South Indian Hindus even to-day. A member of one caste or sub-caste never mixes with any one other than of his own caste at the time of eating. As a rule the Hindus are not accustomed to have a common dish out of which each may serve himself according to his need ; the Hindus believe that the common dish becomes polluted if touched by a person in the act of eating. So each must have a separate receptacle, generally a plantain leaf, in which all the items of food are served simultaneously with rice as the chief item. A person in possession of reserve food will, from time to time, supply the needs of the various individuals.

Sulaymān declares that the people of Hind do not drink wine¹⁷ or vinegar¹⁸ which according to them is in the category of drinks. Their abstinence is not due to any religious injunction¹⁹ but on account of their scorn for it. They say, "Whoever among kings drinks wine is not a king, because round about him are kings who are always at war with him." So they say, "How can one administer the affairs of the kingdom if he is not sober?"²⁰

Ibn Khurdādhbeh also says that the kings and inhabitants of Hind regard drinking as unlawful.

Ibn Rusta quotes Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq²¹ who says: "I found that the merchants of Hind, all of them, do not drink either little or much. They loathe wine; their wine consists of rice water which becomes sour after some days and serves them as wine. The Muslim who is addicted to drink is considered by the people of Hind as vile. They make no account of him and treat him with contempt. They would say: "This man has no credit in his country."

17. شراب A beverage or drink of any of the liquids or of anything that is not chewed or of whatever kind and in whatever state it be....The lawyers and generally the post-classical writers, and sometimes others, mean thereby wine and such beverage as is forbidden. *Lane Arabic Lexicon*.

18. خلّ Vinegar, i.e., expressed juice of grapes and of dates etc.; that has become acid or sour so-called, because its sweet flavour has become altered for the worse. *Lane's Lexicon*. Lane on the authority of Mṣb. asserts that خلّ is "a genuine Arabic word". Perhaps there might have been a dispute about its origin. Considering the sense in which khalل is used in Arabic, one is tempted to think that it might have been from the Tamil word (கல) kal the saccharine juice formed in flowers.

19. The statement by *Sulaymān* and *Mas'ūdī* to the effect that the abstinence of the Indians from drink is not due to any religious injunction is incorrect as will be seen from Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, p. 154.

20. See Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, p. 154.

21. *Ibn Rusta's* information on drink, fornication and on the kings of Hind is based upon the narration of Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq,

Mas'ūdī agrees with Sulaymān in saying that the people of Hind abstain from liquors not in obedience to religious precepts, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and destroys the supremacy which this faculty should exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings that he has drunk wine he forfeits the crown for he is not considered fit to rule and govern the kingdom if he is given to such habits.

Amusements :

Mas'ūdī mentions that the people of Hind frequently hear songs and musical performances; they have various sorts of musical instruments which produce on men all shades of impressions between laughing and crying. Sometimes they make girls drink in order to excite them to show their mirth so that the beholders may be inspired with gaiety by their merriment.²²

who seems to have travelled to Hind and visited many courts of kings. No information about this traveller is available from other sources.

R. The accounts of these four writers are more or less to the same effect, though each treats his facts in his own way. The information on drink shows that toddy, the most popular intoxicant in South India to-day, was not known to the Arabs. Manu's book (3rd century A.D.) also does not speak of toddy. The ordinances of Manu speak of three kinds of intoxicating drinks. (See Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, p. 338).

This classification does not include toddy. Hence it may be inferred that the tapping of toddy from cocoanut and palmyra trees might not have been very popular with the people of South India before the tenth century A.D. The absence of the mention of cocoanut trees by these Arab authors on the west coast of India lends support to this view.

See also under *Malibār*.

22. The account of *Mas'ūdī* breathes a personal reminiscence of the narrator. One can visualise *Mas'ūdī* witnessing a musical performance in Kanbāya for he says "I visited Kanbaya in 303 A.H. during the government of Bāniyā who was appointed there by the Balharā, the sovereign of Mānkīr. Barbier—p. 254,

Sulaymān, while agreeing that the Chinese are fond of all kinds of amusements, holds that the people of Hind censure amusements and do not cultivate them.

Marriage :

Concerning marriage and marital customs, *Sulaymān* relates that in China and Hind when people desire to marry, they congratulate each other, bring presents and then celebrate the marriage by beating cymbals and drums. Their presents consist of money according to the ability of the parties.²³

Polygamy :

Sulaymān reports that the people of China and Hind are not monogamist.²⁴ They marry as many women as they desire.

Fornication :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions that the kings and inhabitants of Hind find fornication²⁵ lawful, but not in the kingdom of Qumār.²⁶

23. For an account of the Brahman marriage ceremony, see E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*. After an elaborate marriage ceremony, festivities and minor ceremonies are kept up for five days, details differing with different sects of the Brahman community.

The above description applies only to the civilised societies of South India. The Nambūdiri Brahmans in Malabar have different marriage rites.

24. As a rule the Hindus are not polygamists. It is true that under special circumstances it is permitted for them to take a second wife whilst the first is still living. In cases where seven years after marriage no son is born, the Laws permit a man to take a second wife, because a son is regarded as necessary to perform the funeral rites for his father, and not for his father only—for three previous generations the happiness of his ancestors is imperilled by the neglect of these ceremonies. In these cases the new bride comes to her husband's home.

W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 179.

25. الزنا

26. See under the kingdom of Qumār, pp. 174.-175 in this book.

Ibnul Faqīh and *Ibn Rusta* give the same information though the latter makes his statements on the authority of Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq.

Qazwīnī merely states that fornication is lawful among the Hindus.

Idrīsī agrees that in the country of the Balharā, fornication²⁷ is permitted with all persons except married women. Thus a man may, if he desires, marry his daughter, his sister, or his aunts, provided they be unmarried.²⁸

Circumcision :

Sulaymān complains that the people of Hind and China do not perform the rite of circumcision.

27. Elliot translates الزنا as concubinage which is incorrect. Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 89.

28. This is a supreme instance of *Idrīsī's* carelessness in not inquiring into the truth of statements made by his informants or questioning the sources of such information as he found in any work of his predecessor. Such statements are quite untrue with regard to any period of Indian History. The information of *Idrīsī* is his own and cannot be traced to any writer either before or after him.

The statement of these writers that fornication is lawful among the Hindus is not correct.

Perhaps the Arabs did not fully understand the various forms of marriages which the Hindu law takes cognizance of.

"20. Learn summarily these eight (ways of) marriage with women of the four castes, (which are) good and bad here and in a future existence."

"21. These are the Brāhma, the Daiva, the Ārṣa, the Prājāpatya, the Āsura, the Gāndharva and also the Rākṣasa; the Paisāca, the eighth is the lowest."

For details, see Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, Lect. III.

R. The intention seems to have been in essence that of the canon law, viz., that a contract followed by a cohabitation is what constitutes a marriage, here the contract being expressed or implied. Some of these forms of marriage do appear unlawful from a Muslim's point of view, hence the sweeping statements of these writers.

Burning the dead :

Sulaymān has said that all the people of Hind burn their dead bodies.²⁹

Abū Zayd and *Idrīsī* give the same information, while the latter adds that the Hindus do not raise tombs³⁰ for the dead.

Conventions observed on the death of a relative :

Sulaymān relates that the people of Hind shave off their beard and the hair upon the death of a relative.³¹

Ibnul Faqīh repeats *Sulaymān's* information and also observes that the people of Hind cling to their duties by abstaining continuously from food and drink for seven days.³²

29. The object of a Hindu funeral is the investiture of the departed spirit with an intermediate gross body interposed, as it were, parenthetically, between the terrestrial gross body destroyed by the fire and the new terrestrial body which the spirit must assume ultimately. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, pp. 132-33. For details of the ceremony of a Hindu funeral, see W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 457. There are however many castes, such as the *Dēvāṅga* and *Karnabattu* in South India who usually bury their dead in a sitting attitude, a practice which, according to Lord Avebury, in *Pre-historic Times* is a survival from neolithic times.

30. It is not the general custom among the Hindus to erect tombs for the dead, but communities like the *Dēvāṅgas* erect in some places a hut of milk hedge (*Euphorbia Tirucalli*) branches over the graves. For details see E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 137.

31. There are some communities in South India which observe this custom even to-day.

32. The relatives to the sixth degree ought to fast three days and nights, or at least one day ; the near relatives must observe a partial fast as long as the days of mourning continue, i.e., until the thirtieth day after death occurred. W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 460.

Veneration of Oxen :

Idrīsī has said that the people of Hind have a great veneration for oxen³³ and in accordance with a privilege enjoyed only by these beasts, they inter them after death. When they are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, the animals are freed from all labour and provided with food.

Ibn Rusta gives further details that in the whole of India, generally the man who kills a cow is punished with death.³⁴

Succession of families in one and the same profession :

Sulaymān says that there are families of learned men and of physicians. They form a distinct community and their profession never goes out of the family.

Sacrifice for kings :

Abū Zayd relates that among the kings of Hind are some who observe a special rite upon their accession to the throne. Rice is cooked for the new monarch and is served on a plantain leaf. He invites from among his companions three or four hundred men, and those who are willing, present themselves to the king without any compulsion on his part. After the king has eaten some of the cooked rice, he gives the remainder to those men who approach him one after another and receive from him a small quantity of rice which they eat. It is incumbent upon all those

33. بَقَرٌ is pl. of بَقْرَةٌ applied to the male and the female, the ّ being added only to restrict it to unity.

بَقَرٌ the bovine genus; the ox or bull and cow; and oxen, or bulls, and cows; neat.

The veneration for the cow is based upon the ordinances of Manu, see Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

34. Cow-killing is still a penal offence in the Cochin State, South India.

who partake of this to burn themselves to the last man when the king dies or is slain. They never delay in doing so ; they throw themselves into the fire and are burnt till nothing remains of them, no substance nor any mark about them. When a man resolves to burn himself he goes to the king's palace and seeks permission. Then he goes round the market places to the spot where fire is prepared for him by great heaps of wood. Round about this pile there are men kindling the fire till the fire becomes one molten mass. Then the man rushes along, preceded by a number of cymbal-beaters and surrounded by his family and relatives. Some of these people place on his head a crown made of some aromatic plant which they fill with burning coal. They pour upon him sandarac which catches fire as naphtha. All this time he continues walking though the top of his head is burning, and the burnt flesh diffuses its odour. He does not show any change in his gait nor exhibit any sign of pain till he reaches the pile, throws himself into it and is turned into ashes. Some who were present on such an occasion relate that the person who intended to burn himself, as he approached the fire, took out a dagger, ripped up his belly from the breast to the pubes, thrust his left hand into it, seized the liver and drew out a part of it, talking all the while. With the dagger he cut a piece of it and delivered it up to his brother, thus displaying a contempt for death and endurance under pain. Then he jumped into the fire to join the accursed in hell.

R. Seeing that Abū Zayd deals with kings on the west coast it is possible that this sacrifice may refer to a festival which used to be held every twelfth year at the Tirunāvāyi temple in the Ponnani taluk, although it has been discontinued for the past one hundred and fifty years. This festival was called the Māmakham or Mahāmakham which means literally *big sacrifice*. It was a festival instituted, according to tradition, by one of the Perumal emperors prior to the Kollam era and was celebrated by them. After the departure of the last Perumal emperor to Makka, the duty of celebrating this festival devolved on the local rājas until the rise to power of the Zamorins who later presided over the festival as suzerains of all Keralam. For further details of the festival, refer Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, pp. 163-168.

Conversion to Islam :

Sulaymān : I have never known anyone in either Hind or China who has embraced Islam³⁵ or any one who could speak Arabic.

Muslims :

Idrīsī says that in all the countries of Hind and Sind, there are Muslims who bury their dead secretly by night, but, unlike the Hindus, they do not give way to long lamentations.³⁶

Regarding the relations between Muslims and Hindus, *Idrīsī* says that the town of Nahrwārah is frequented by large numbers of Muslim traders who go there on business. They are honourably treated by the king and his ministers, and find protection and safety.

35. The statement of Sulaymān is cited by Logan (*Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 191) in support of his argument that Islam was not introduced into Malabar till 200 years after the Hijra. Logan also rejects Rowlandson's view, mentioned in a footnote to *Tuḥfat-al-Mujāhidīn* (p. 5) that the Arab emigrants, during the time of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (714 A.D.) Governor of Baṣra, established themselves in Malabar. But this view is supported by Burhān ibn Ḥasan, (author of *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* in Persian, English translation by S. M. H. Nainar, p. 65) who makes the following statement which goes to confirm Rowlandson's view. "The Nawāyaṭ emigrated from their native home owing to the tyranny of Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf and reached the coast of Hind by sea. They settled in the region of Konkan in the territory of the Mahratas."

However, it will suffice to say here that it will not be useful to establish any theory on the strength of Sulaymān's statement, for the exact date and the name of the narrator of this remark in the account of Sulaymān are not known to us so far. (See Introduction to Chapter I).

36. These refer to the death songs sung over the bodies of dead relatives by most castes in Southern India, including the Brahmans. They are taught to children and are sung by female relatives and friends to the accompaniment of beating of the breasts and tearing of the hair, not only immediately after the death of a person, but also once a fortnight or more frequently until the first annual ceremony is performed. See E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, pp. 227-228.

Poets :

Abū Zayd is alone in calling attention to the existence of poets in India who wait upon kings.

Justice :

Sulaymān, in speaking of the administration of justice, relates that the Chinese have judges besides governors, and that the same can be said with regard to the people of Hind.³⁷

Ibn Rusta declares that the king of Qumār had eighty judges in his service. They meted out justice even if the accused were to be the son of the king, making him stand in the place set apart for persons guilty of crime.

Trial by red-hot Iron :

Sulaymān writes at considerable length concerning the different forms of trial practised in India. In the cities of Hind, he relates, when one man accuses another of a crime punishable with death, the accused is asked whether he is prepared to go through a trial by fire. He would say, 'yes'. Then they heat a piece of iron till it becomes red-hot and ask him to stretch out his hand, on which they place seven leaves³⁸ of a tree found in their country and then stand the red-hot iron over these leaves. The accused then walks backwards and forwards and throws off the iron from his hand. Then he is given a leather bag into which he puts his hand. After that it is sealed with the seal of the king. Three days pass

37. Although in early Vedic days the administration of justice in India was centralised and rested solely in the hands of the reigning monarch, as the size of the kingdom extended and the functions of a judiciary grew in scope and extent, the task was entrusted to experts in law, who were invariably recruited from the Brahman community. Although it appears that there were no regular courts of justice in the classical and pre-classical periods of Hindu India, traces of permanent institutions for the administration of justice are to be found in the *Dharma-śāstra* and the *Arthaśāstra* treatises. See V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 227.

38. Perhaps this may refer to betel leaves.

and then the accused is given raw paddy and is asked to remove the husk with his hand. If there is no mark in his hand, he has proved his innocence and he will not be executed. Then his accuser is sentenced to pay a *mann* of gold which would be appropriated by the king.


Ibn Rusta's account of this ceremony differs slightly in details. He says that the ordeal by fire is prevalent in the cities of the Mahrāj³⁹ and also in the city of Hind named Fanṣūr. When one man accuses another on a charge of debt, adultery or theft punishable with death, the accused may choose the trial by fire. He must then appear before the king who orders a piece of iron weighing one pound⁴⁰ or more to be heated. They get leaves which resemble those of a *ghār*⁴¹ in thickness and seven of them are put on his hand one above the other. Then the red-hot iron is put on top of them by means of tongs. In that condition he walks backwards and forwards for about one hundred steps. If his hand and the leaves on it are burnt, his guilt is proved; he will then be condemned either to death or to paying a fine as the case may be. If he is unable to pay the fine, he becomes the slave of the king who can sell him. If however the fire does not burn, the accuser is told, "Your charge is false, your adversary has taken the fire." Then he is held guilty of the charge he had made.

Trial by scalding water :

Another method of trial which *Sulaymān* describes is the trial by scalding water. Sometimes they boil water in an iron or copper pot until it is so hot that no one can approach it. Then they

39. The king of the city of Zābaj (Java) is known as the Mahrāj. He is the sovereign over many islands, the extent of his kingdom being one thousand parasangs or more. The island Zābaj where he lives is exceedingly fertile and the buildings there are set in order. Abū Zayd, p. 89.

40.  a pound.

41.  —Laurel tree.

throw an iron ring into it. The accused is asked to put his arm in and bring out the ring. "I saw one man," he writes, "survive this ordeal successfully, without sustaining any hurt." In this case also the accuser was directed to pay⁴² a *mann*⁴³ of gold.

Punishment for theft:

Theft, whether considerable or inconsiderable, *Sulaymān* has written, is always punished with death, both in China and Hind. In Hind especially, if a man steals a farthing⁴⁴ or anything more, a long piece of wood is taken, sharpened to a point, and applied to his fundament and thrust up until it comes out of his neck.⁴⁵

42. No information is given about the person to whom the money is paid.

43. Mann من (Greek word, weight of two rothls).

Maund, a standard weight,—8 viss —40 seers, —25 lbs, varying in different localities.

R. Trials by ordeal were and still are very common, although some forms of them have necessarily disappeared. The Tellichery Factory Diary (6th May, 1728) records that a dispute between the Honorable East India Company and certain people over the value of articles agreed to be supplied for money received, was to be settled by the ordeal of trial by oil. For details see Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 173.

44. فلس ج فلوس و افلس (Greek). Farthing, small copper coin.

Plural used for money in general.

45. Compare Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: "I have never seen a safer road than this, for they put to death anyone who steals a single nut, and if any fruit falls no one picks it up but the owner. Trans. by H. A. R. Gibb, p. 232.

R. Theft of gold was considered as one of the five great sins, the other four being murder of a Brahman, drinking, disobeying a teacher's rules and cow-killing.

Thieves were cleft in two and exposed to vultures, but impaling alive was not unknown even as late as 1795. Sometimes criminals were wrapped in green palm leaves and torn asunder, probably by elephants.

See Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 173.

Punishment for Fornication :

If a man procures a woman and she serves as a prostitute, *Sulaymān* relates, both the man and the woman are put to death throughout the land of Hind. But if a man commits fornication with a woman, forcing her against her will, then the man alone is put to death; and if he sins with a woman with her consent, both are put to death.⁴⁶

Punishment for Adultery :

Ibn Rusta : Adultery is not lawful with all kings of Hind. They put to death⁴⁷ both the adulterers.

Punishment for Drinking :

Ibn Rusta has related on the authority of some travellers, that the punishment prescribed by the king of Qumār for his attendants and soldiers in case of their drinking is that one hundred red hot iron rings⁴⁸ are put on the arm of the drinker who often dies.*


46. The statement of *Sulaymān* is not quite correct. The punishment for such offences varies from the infliction of fines to mutilation and death, the latter insisted upon only in extreme cases. It is also noteworthy that a Brahman is never sentenced to capital punishment for such offences.

Manu's ordinances prescribe various forms of punishment for this offence. Compare *Nāḷaḍiyār* :

“காணிற் குடிப்பழியாம் கையுறிற் கால்குறையும்” (நாலடி. 84.)

In case of adultery the offender's legs would be cut off.

47. The Hindu Law prescribes various kinds of punishment for adultery. See Hopkins, *Manu's Ordinance*, 373-379, Lecture VIII.

48. These refer to சுட்டிக்கால் *sūṭṭuk-kāl* or குலக்குறடு *śulak-kuraḍu*, an iron instrument for branding. In Arabic, Ḥalqa  signifies a brand upon camels of a round form, like the ḥalqa (or ring) of a door.

* *Qazwīnī* gives more or less the same information quoting *Ibnul-Faqīh*, but *De Goeje's* version of *Ibnul-Faqīh* has no such account.

He is a sovereign with great zeal ; there is no king more zealous and severe in giving punishment than him. His punishments include the cutting off of two hands, two feet, the nose, two lips and two ears, and he never resorts to pecuniary punishment, as do other kings of Hind.

Treatment of Prisoners :

Sulaymān says that whenever anyone is put into prison, or under arrest, he is given neither food nor drink for seven days.⁴⁹

Sciences, Medicine :

We learn from *Sulaymān* that medicine and philosophy are cultivated in Hind. The Chinese, too, have knowledge of medicine, but most of it is cauterization. They have also knowledge of astronomy, but in Hind it is more common.

Ibnul Faqīh simply states that the people of Hind are physicians, philosophers and astrologers.

Mas'ūdī follows *Sulaymān* in testifying to the reliance on cauterization in the art of healing.

Occult Sciences :

With regard to the practice of occult sciences, *Ibn Khur-dādhbeh* says that the people of Hind believe that they can realise what they wish by their enchantments ; by them they make a man drink poison and then take it out of him. By the power of thought they bind or unbind, and hurt or benefit. They conjure up delusions to the bewilderment of even intelligent men. They claim that they can stop rain and cold.

Ibnul Faqīh also records that the people of Hind have knowledge of sorcery.

49. The following sentence in the text (p. 55) seems to be ambiguous
وهم يتلازمون Reinaud translates it thus: "The Indians can arrest each
other."

Abū Zayd goes into greater details. There are astrologers,⁵⁰ philosophers, diviners and those who draw auguries from the flight of birds. There are magicians and others who create marvelous illusions,⁵¹ especially in Qannawj, a big city in the kingdom of *al-Jawz*.⁵²

People of Hind seeking the assemblies of learned men in Sarandīb :

Abū Zayd tells us that in the island of Sarandīb, (Ceylon), there are assemblies of learned men which can be compared with the assemblies of learned traditionists. The people of Hind repair to these assemblies.⁵³ They write down from them the lives of their Prophets and the laws of their religion. There is a huge idol of pure gold, whose exact weight is exaggerated by the sailors. Great sums of money have been spent on the temples there.

Chinese view of the people of Hind :

As we have seen, *Sulaymān* writes that the Chinese have no science, and he further suggests that their religion was derived

50. The services of the astrologer are still considered of supreme importance. His advice is sought on innumerable occasions in daily life and he is, of course, indispensable for such important occasions as births, tonsures, investiture with the sacred thread, marriages, and such other happenings.

51. Even to the present day, the power of enchantments and spells is believed in implicitly by the lower classes, especially in Malabar. See Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 174.

52. قنوج . . . في ملكة الجزر

53. This may refer to the assemblies of learned Buddhists in Ceylon. After Buddhism was ousted from India, the Indian Buddhists might have made journeys to Ceylon to learn more about their religion.

from Hind. The Chinese, he states, believe that the people of Hind erected idols for them, and regard them as a people of religion.⁵⁴

Pilgrimage :

There is a wealth of detail concerning Multan and the pilgrimages undertaken to visit this city. *Mas'ūdī* writes that there is a celebrated idol at Multan. The inhabitants of Sind and Hind make pilgrimage to that city by thousands from the most distant places. They carry there money, precious stones, aloes and many sorts of perfumes, in order to fulfil their vows.

Abū Zayd : There is a famous idol at Multan which is not far from Maṣūra. The people from remote parts even from a distance of several months, make a pilgrimage to that idol.

*Abul Faraj*⁵⁵ is content to mention that the people of Hind from distant parts go on a pilgrimage to the temple at Multan, travelling by land and sea.

Idrīsī writes that Multan is very near Hind and that some authors place it in that country. It equals Maṣūra in size and is called "the house of gold." There is an idol there, which is highly venerated by the people of Hind who go on pilgrimages to it from the most distant parts of the country and make offerings of valuables, ornaments and the finest qualities of perfumes.

From *Yāqūt* we learn that Somnat is the biggest temple in the whole of Hind. It is to them what Makka is to the Muslims.

Qazwīnī records that the people of Hind used to go on a pilgrimage to Somnat whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there in gatherings numbering more than a hundred thousand.

54. This is probably a reference to the spread of Buddhism from India to China.

55. He also gives a detailed description of the temple at Multan and its wealth.

Dimishqī alone mentions that Wajrām-al-Dhahab⁵⁶ is the temple in Karūrā⁵⁷ to which the people of Hind make pilgrimages. Sometimes they travel a distance of a year's journey, practising various kinds of devotion. Some crawl on their knees from their homes, until they reach this temple ; others prostrate themselves on the earth and then rise, repeating this act of devotion until they reach their destination, or die on the road. Sometimes a pilgrim plaits his hair in corded wool and cotton, dips it in oil and grease and grasps a dagger in his right hand. Then he goes to the temple, followed by friends and relatives, and priests who escort him to the fire. As he approaches it, he takes fire in his hand and sets light to his horns. Then he puts out his hand to the skin of his belly and cuts it six times with the dagger, up to the liver, pulls it out, cuts of it a piece which he gives to his nearest friend. Then he throws himself into the fire which consumes him. When he has been reduced to ashes they take them, sprinkle them on the river Ganges or put them in water from the river Ganges and sprinkle them on their bodies. In this way they get a blessing. ~

56. The principal temple in Karūr is the one devoted to Śiva in the form of Paśupatiśvarasvāmi, a considerable edifice of some antiquity, which has recently been renovated, and which contains numerous stone inscriptions, among which are nine Cōla grants. Even to-day it is visited by pilgrims.

57. See under Karūrā, page 44 in this book.

R. Pilgrimage is the peculiar work of those who have given themselves up to a life of religion. Some among the highest class of Brahmans are renowned for their devotion in wandering from shrine to shrine ; according to Brahmanical ideals, one quarter of a person's manhood should be spent in pilgrimage but the life of millions is devoted solely to this. Such persons are revered as the most holy of men. The visiting of shrines, however, is by no means peculiar to those classes who have adopted the religious life. It is the ambition of many ordinary people and their earnest desire is to visit at least one of these sacred places during their life time. See W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*.

PEOPLE OF HIND

Dēvadāsīs :

In Hind, as we learn from *Abū Zayd*, there are public women, known as the *women of the idol*.⁵⁸ The reason is a woman takes a vow that if she were to get a child, she would consecrate that child to God's service. Then, if she bears a beautiful female child, she brings the child to the temple and consecrates it to the deity. Then in later years, she selects a house for the child in the market place, hangs down a curtain before the house and seats her in a chair to await the passing of those people of Hind and others, to whom debauchery is not a sin. She sells herself at a fixed sum. Whenever a certain amount is collected she delivers it to the priests of the idol to be spent for the upkeep of the temple.

58. قُحَابُ الْبَدَنِ

قُحِبَ Attacked by coughing; applied in this sense to an old man. قُحِبَةُ Applied to a woman who coughs much and is extremely aged or old and infirm. It also signifies a prostitute or fornicatress, because the prostitute used to give permission to those who desired her by coughing; according to some, it is post-classical, but Ibn-Hilāl says that it is a proper (not a tropical) appellation for the woman who makes gain by prostitution. Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*.

R. Reference to *Castes and tribes of Southern India* (E. Thurston Vol. II, pp. 125-126) shows that *Abū Zayd*'s information is correct so far as it goes. In old Hindu works, 7 classes of *Dāsīs* are mentioned. 1. *Dattā*—one who gives herself as a gift to a temple. 2. *Vikrīta*—one who sells herself for the same purpose. 3. *Bhṛtya*—one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family. 4. *Bhakta*—one who joins a temple out of devotion. 5. *Harita*—one who is enticed away and presented to a temple. 6. *Alankāra*—one who, being well trained in her profession, and profusely decked, is presented to a temple by kings and noblemen. 7. *Rudraganika* or *Gōpika*—one who receives regular wages from a temple and is employed to sing and dance. The profession is not held to-day in the consideration it once enjoyed, although the *dēva-dāsīs* form a regular caste, and with their allies the *mēlakārāns* (professional pipers) are now practically the sole repository of Indian music, which system is probably one of the oldest in the world.

Mountaineers :

The same narrator,⁵⁹ *Abū Zayd* informs us, says that there is a community in the mountainous tracts of the country who seek after useless and foolish things just like the *Kanifiyyas* and the *Jalidiyyas* in our parts.⁶⁰ There is rivalry between them and those who live on the coast, who visit these mountains and invite the people there to imitate them. The mountaineers also do the same.

Once a mountaineer came down with this purpose to the people on the coast. A crowd collected round him, spectators and rivals. He challenged the rivals to do as he did, and if they failed to do so, they should acknowledge his superiority. He sat at the edge of a thicket of reeds, flexible as any cane-like plant.

The root of this is like that of رَدْن or thicker. If the tip of the reed is bent down, it yields till it touches the ground, and if it is let go it resumes its original position.

This visitor from the mountains pulled the top of one of the thick reeds till it was near him, then he bound it strongly to the plait of his hair. Then he took out his dagger, which was like fire in its quickness and said to them: "I am going to cut off my head with this dagger. When it is separated from my body, let it go at once. I shall laugh when it returns with my head to its position and you will hear repeated chuckles." The people of the coast could not do this. This was told by one whom we cannot distrust. It is well known in these days, as these towns of Hind are near the towns of Arabia and information is reaching them every time.⁶¹

59. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

60. كَنِيفِيَّةٌ وَجَلِيدِيَّةٌ "I can find nothing about the two sects of which the author speaks."

Relation des voyages, M. Reinaud, p. 54. Notes.

61. The account is, perhaps, a description of jugglery practised by *Dāsaris*, *Jōgis*, *Tottiyans* and others. For details about these classes see E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.

Mischief of some people of Hind in Sarandīb :

Abū Zayd gives a long account of certain happenings in Sarandīb. A man from Hind is reported to have made his way into the market place, carrying with him a thin dagger skilfully designed. He would fight his way to the richest merchant he could, and take hold of his neck, brandish the dagger over him and drive him out of the city from the crowd of men who would never devise any plan to help a merchant, for if any attempt was made to rescue him, he would slay the merchant and make away with himself.

Once outside the city, the merchant is asked to pay a price for freeing himself. The merchant is followed by a man who frees him by paying the ransom. This practice continued for a long time till a king arose who gave order to seize such men from Hind, who did this in whatever condition. It was done so, but the Indian killed the merchant and then himself. The same happened to many others. Many from among the people of Hind and the Arabs perished. But when punishment was inflicted this stopped and the merchants felt secure.

Sanyāsis :

Sulaymān : In the land of Hind there are men who wander in the woods and mountains and rarely associate with men. They eat occasionally dry herbage and fruits obtained in the thickets. Such hermits fix an iron ring round the copulatory organ, so that they may not have commerce with women. Some of them are naked ; some set themselves up, facing the sun, quite naked, save for a piece of tiger's skin. I have seen one in the posture described above. I went away and when I returned after sixteen years, I found him still in the same posture. I wondered how his eyes had not melted by the heat of the sun !

R. A Sanyāsi is literally a man who has forsaken all, and who has renounced the world and leads a life of celibacy, devoting himself to religious meditation and abstraction and to the study of holy books. He is considered to have attained a state of exalted piety that places him above most of the restrictions of caste and ceremony.

The majority of the Sanyāsis found, and generally known as such, are a

Bayrāgis :

Abū Zayd : There is a community in Hind known as Baykar-jiyyīn بیکر جیئی who are found naked. Their hair covers their body and the private parts. Their nails are very long and like javelins. They never cut them, but they do get broken. They travel from place to place. Every one of them has a string about his neck upon which is hung the skull of a man. When one of these mendicants becomes fatigued by hunger, he stops before the door of any house. The inmates speedily bring him some cooked rice, rejoicing at his arrival. He eats out of the skull and after his appetite is appeased, he departs and never returns for food except during the time of necessity.

class of Śūdra devotees, who live by begging and pretend to powers of divination. They wear garments coloured with red ochre, and allow the hair to grow unshorn. They often have settled abodes, but itinerate. Many are married and their descendants follow the same calling.

R. The name Bairāgi is derived from the Sanskrit, Vairāgya (vi-rāg) denoting without desire or passion, and indicates an ascetic, who has subdued his passions, and liberated himself from worldly desires.

They partake of one meal daily, in the afternoon, and are abstainers from flesh dietary. They live mainly on alms obtained in the *bazaars* and in *choultries*. They are, as a rule, naked except for a small piece of cloth tied round the waist and passed between the thighs. They generally allow the beard to grow, and the hair of the head is long and matted, with sometimes a long tail of yak or human hair tied in a knot on the top of the head. Those who go about nearly naked smear ashes all over their bodies. When engaged in begging, some go through the streets, uttering aloud the name of some god. Others go from house to house, or remain at a particular spot, where people are expected to give them alms.

Rainfall and life during the rainy season :

From *Abū Zayd* we learn, on the subject of *yasārat*,⁶² which means rain, that in Hind, the rainy season lasts for three months during the summer. The rain pours incessantly night and day. The rains scarcely abate in the winter. The inhabitants prepare victuals before the rainy season sets in, and when it comes on, they shut themselves up in their homes made of wood covered with dry herbage.⁶³ No one leaves the house unless on some important business. The artisans do their work at home during this season. The soles of their feet often putrify during this season. On these rains depend their livelihoods and if rains fail, the people will be ruined, for they cultivate paddy; they know no other. They have no food but that.

During this season, the crops in the paddy fields lie prostrate on the ground. The people have no need to irrigate or attend to any other agricultural duties. *ḥarāmāt* حرامات signifies paddy fields. When the sky becomes clear, the crops ripen beautifully in the bright days and thrive abundantly. There are no rains in winter.

Mas'ūdī gives further information to the effect that it is impossible to sail from 'Umān to the sea of Hind in the *Tirmāh* (June) except with first-rate vessels and light cargoes. In Hind at that time it is winter and the rainy season,⁶⁴ for the two *Kānūns* and *Shubāt* (December, January and February) are their summer. Our winter is their summer while the month *Tamūz* (July) and *Ab*

62. The word 'yessare' يسارة appears to be a derivation from the Sanskrit word, varscha, meaning rain. Reinaud, p. 55. Notes.

63. The text seems to be faulty.

اقاموا في منازلهم لانها معمورة من خشب مكنسة
السقوف مظلة بحشا نش لهم

Abū Zayd, p. 126.

64. *اليسارة وهي الشتاء* Barbier, Vol. I, p. 327.

Compare *Bīrūnī*. India has the tropical rains in summer, which is called *varsakāla*, and these rains are the more copious and last the longer, the

(August) which are summer months with us, are their winter. This applies to all towns of Hind, Sind and the neighbouring countries, through the whole extent of this area.

Religious Sects :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh writes that there are forty-two sects among the people of Hind. Of these some believe in God and His apostles, some deny the apostles, while others deny everything.

Idrīsī bases his information on *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and gives additional facts. Some, he says, acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones,⁶⁵ others worship heaps of stones⁶⁶ on which they pour butter and oil. Some pay adoration to fire⁶⁷ and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun and prostrate themselves to it believing it to be the creator, and dictator of the world. Some worship trees, others pay adoration to serpents which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, considering them as means of divine favour. Lastly there are some who give

more northward the situation of a province of India is, the less it is intersected by ranges of mountains. Dr. Sachau—*Bīrunī*, Vol. I, p. 211.

65. *الأحجار الصخرية*

66. *الأحجار المكدسة* Elliot, (Vol. I, p. 76) translates it as 'holy stones'. It is not correct. *مكدس - مكدس* what is collected together, of wheat, etc. heaped up.

R. This may refer to the erection of unhewn stones for worship on the wayside by travellers and in places that are far off from regular temples by people generally of the working class. A deification of some soul which they have in mind is supposed to take place in that stone, and it is made an object of worship.

67. An exogamous sect of the Kurubas and Gollas, and sub-division of the Paḷlis or Vanniyans. The equivalent Aggi occurs as an exogamous sect of Boya. The Paḷlis claim to belong to the Agnikula Kṣatriyas, i.e., to the fire race of the Kṣatriyas. See E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.

R. The statement of *Idrīsī* that they cast themselves into the flames is not correct.

themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything.

Abul Faraj writes that the people of Hind have no unanimity of opinion concerning their idols. One sect says that the idol is the representation of the creator. Another sect says that it is the representation of His messenger to him. Again they differ on this last point.

Some hold that the prophet is one of the angels; another group says that he is a man. Yet another group says that he is a demon; while another group considers that he is the representation of Būdāsaf⁶⁸ who came to them from God.

Each sect has its own special rites for worshipping and exalting the idol. Some whose words may be relied upon have reported that each sect has a representation which they worship and adore. The word *budd* is the generic noun and the idols اصنام are species.

The supreme idol is represented as a man sitting on a throne, without any hair on the face, with a receding chin. He has no garments and he has a smiling appearance. He holds his hand in a position which indicates number thirty-two.

It is heard from reliable men that in each house is found its image⁶⁹ made of materials which vary according to the resources of the individual, either in gold, set with precious gems, or in silver, or brass or stone or wood. They worship it as

68. بُودَاسَف This may refer to Śiva who is known as Bhūtapati.

69. These refer to the family idols kept in a room apart, and worshipped morning and evening. They are often objects of exquisite skill and beautiful to behold. A story is told of a Muslim princess of the royal family at Delhi who died broken hearted because she was not allowed to retain the idol which was presented to her to play with after it had been carried off by Malik Kāfūr from the temple at Śrīrangam and which the Hindus successfully reclaimed.

See Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*.

it faces them, east to west or west to east. Generally the idol is kept with its back to the east, and the worshippers face eastwards. It is related that this image has four faces and it is made with such geometrical precision and skill that in whichever direction they face it, they can see its full face. The front is clearly seen and nothing is invisible. It is said that the idol of Multan is of this kind.

They have an idol called *Mahākālī*.⁷⁰ It has four hands, its colour is sky-blue, and its head is covered with hair which is not crisp. Its face has a grinning expression. The stomach is uncovered but the back is covered with the skin of an elephant from which drips blood, and the two feet of the elephant are tied before

70. மஹாகாளி *Mahākālī*, the exalted goddess *Kālī*.

R. The impersonation of female energy in the form of Mother Earth appears among the non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village goddesses (*grāmadēvatā*) some of whom are purely local or tribal, while others, like *Kālī* or *Māriyammā*, though they still retain some local characteristics, have become national deities. Even in the Veda, *Pṛthivi* appears as a kindly guardian-deity but with her, by a process of Syncretism, has been associated the non-Aryan Mother-cult.

In its benevolent manifestation the cult of the Earth-goddess is shown in that of the Rajput Gauri, "the brilliant one." In other cognate manifestations, she is known as *Sākambharī*, "herb-nourisher," or *Āśāpūrāna*, "she who fulfils desire". Cults of her malignant aspects are specially common in South India. Such is that of *Ellammā*, "mother of all", whose ritual includes animal sacrifice, and the brutal rite of hook swinging, intended as a mimetic charm to promote vegetation; the plant springing as the victim rises in the air; *Māriyammā*, "plague mother" at whose shrine an officiant known as *Potraz* "ox king," tears open the throat of a living ram and offers a mouthful of the bleeding flesh to the goddess as in the murderous orgy which was a feature of the Dionysiac ritual; *Piḍāri*, the Tamil form of Skr. *Viṣāri*, "poison-remover" a passionate, irascible goddess with a red hot face and body, and on her head a burning flame; when drought or murrain prevails, she is propitiated with fire-treading and the sacrifice of a bull; lambs are slain in the route of her procession and the blood, mixed with wine, is flung into the air to propitiate the powers of evil.

Enc. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 6, p. 706.

it. In one of its hands there is a big snake opening its mouth, and in the second is a stick ; and in the third is the head of a man, while the fourth is raised. It wears two serpents as ear-rings, two huge serpents twisted round its body, a crown made of skulls on its head and a collar similarly fashioned. They believe that *Mahākāl* is a powerful spirit, deserving worship on account of its great power, and its possession of all the qualities, good, benevolent, bad and adverse, which enable it to give or refuse, or to be kind or wicked.

Dīnikītiya.⁷¹ These are worshippers of the sun. They have an idol placed upon a cart supported by four horses. There is in the hand of the idol a precious gem⁷² of the colour of fire. They believe that the sun is the king of the angels deserving worship and adoration. They prostrate themselves before this idol, walk round it with incense, playing the flute and other musical instruments. There are estates endowed for this idol, and a steady income. It has priests and other employees to look after its temple and estate.

71. *الدينكيتية* Abul Faraj.

Compare *الدينكيتية* Nuwayrī, Part I, p. 49.

R. *Dīnikītiya*—*Dinakrit*—sun ; *Dina* (day) + *krit* (he does). *Dinakrit* + *yā* *يَا* the arabic termination to form the *nomina relativa* or relative adjective. Thus the word should have been *Dinakritiyya*, those who are devoted (associated) to the worship of the Sun.

Gustav Flügel on the authority of Reinaud derives it from *Āditi-Bakti*, *adorateurs d'Aditi* (der Sonne). This view is incorrect.

The *Saurapātas* are those who worship *Sūryapati*, the sun god only. There are few of them to be met with nowadays, though at one time they were numerous. They differ but little from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances, although there are certain peculiar practices which they observe.

For further details, see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

72. This refers to *sūryakāntam* (*சூரியகாந்தம்*) a kind of gem, crystal, lens or burning glass ; the sunstone, said to emit fire when placed in the sun's rays. Winslow, *Tamil-English Dictionary*.

There are three services for this idol in a day with different rituals. The sick and lepers and those who suffer from skin disease, palsy and other grave illness, stay there spending their nights. They prostrate themselves, make humble supplications to it and pray for the cure of their illness. They do not eat or drink, but remain fasting. They continue to do so until they see a vision in sleep which says, "You are cured; you have attained your desire." It is said that the idol speaks to the sick in sleep and that they are cured and restored to good health.⁷³

Jandrihkiniya.⁷⁴ They are the worshippers of the moon. They say that the moon is one of the angels deserving honour and adoration. Their custom is to set up an idol, to represent it, on a cart drawn by four ducks. In the hand of this idol is a gem called

73. This may refer to the Surya Deul or the Sun Temple at Konark. "The vimāna of this great temple," says R. D. Banerjee in his *History of Orissa*, (Vol. II, p. 380), "collapsed sometime between the date of the completion of *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* and the British conquest of Orissa. Even Fergusson saw a portion of it about 120 ft. in height in the second quarter of the 19th century." According to tradition, the great temple of Konark was built by Narasimha I. This tradition is corroborated by statements to the same effect in the inscriptions of his descendants, Narasimha II and IV. It is said locally that Narasimha I was cured of leprosy and dedicated this temple out of gratitude to the God.

74. الجندركينية Abul Faraj.

Compare الجندركينية أي عباد القمر Nuwayrī, Pt. I, p. 57.

R. Jandrihkiniya—Skr. Chandra+*kanti*+*yya*, ج the arabic termination to form the relative adjective. The original word seems to be Chandrakāntiyya, "those who are devoted to the worship of the moon possessed of a bright gem." The word as it stands in the text is a corruption of the original chandrakāntiyya.

Flugel again on the same authority derives it from Chandra bhakti "adorateurs de Tchandra" which is incorrect. In this connection it may be noticed that in the description of the Sect Dīnikītiya we read also of a gem of the colour of fire placed in the hand of the idol, though they do not call that gem by any name as they do here, i.e. jandarkīt.

Jandarkit.⁷⁵ Their cult is to prostrate themselves to it and worship it and observe fasting for half the month, not breaking the fast till the moon rises, when they bring food, drink and milk to the idol, pray solemnly, look at the moon and ask what they desire. If it is the beginning of the month, and crescent moon appears, they assemble on the roof, watch the crescent moon, burn incense and pray to it. Then they descend from the roof to eat and drink and rejoice. They do not look at it except with good faces. In the middle of the month, after breaking the fast, they dance and play on musical instruments before the moon and the idol.

*Anshaniyya*⁷⁶ are those who abstain from food and drink.

*Bakrantīniya*⁷⁷ are those who fetter their bodies with iron. Their practice is to shave off the hair and beard and not to cover their body except for the private parts. It is not their custom to teach or speak with any one apart from those who join their sect.

Worship of the moon in one or other of her aspects either alone or in conjunction with other rites is common in India at the present day, and in all probability such worship has never been interrupted. There are, however, no exclusive votaries or sects who make the moon their chief deity.

The phases of the moon are often decisive for the work of the fields; and the economy of the household, with its various anniversaries and important events is similarly determined by the moon's position and aspects.

Among the seasonal festivals the moon feast always held a high rank, and even the Buddhists preserved a memory of it in the Uposatha festival, though reduced in that sober organisation to a Sabbath day observance.

For further details see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

75. **چندرکیت** Chandra-kāntam (சந்திரகாந்தம்) a kind of mineral gem, the moon-stone, said to emit moisture when placed in the moonlight, and believed by some to be a congelation of the moon's rays. Winslow, *Tamil-English Dictionary*.

76. Anaśan (Skr.) Fasting.

77. **البكرتينية** Abul Faraj.

R. Undoubtedly the word Bakrantīniyya seems to have connection with the Tamil *Pakavān* or *Pakavan* (skr. Bhagvān) great persons possessing

They command the followers of their creed to give alms to humble themselves. Those who join the sect are not fettered with iron till they attain a rank which entitles them to do so. The fettering of the body is from the waist as far as the chest, lest the stomach should split, which might happen, they believe, on account of the excessive knowledge they acquire and the force of their meditation.

Kankāyātra.⁷⁸ The members of this sect are scattered throughout the country of Hind. Their belief is that if a man commits a grave sin, he must travel to the Ganges from far or near, wash in it and thus become clean.

Rāhmar (n) iyya.⁷⁹ They are supporters of kings. Their cult is rendering assistance to kings. They say "God, exalted be He, made them kings. If we are slain in the service of kings, we reach paradise."

the six attributes of *pakam*, the epithet being used after names of certain gods and ṛṣis. From this we get the expression (பகவற் பத்தன்) Pakavarpattan, one devoted to the deity, being one of the six names given to such as are ripe for emancipation (Winslow). Thus the Arabic word *Bakrantiniyya* may be a corruption of Pakavṛpattan + yya, the usual Arabic termination added to form the relative adjective.

78. كَنكَايَا تَرَة Abul Faraj.

R. Gangāyātra—pilgrimage to the Ganges. According to the Hindus, the Ganges or Gangā, as she is called, is a divine wife of Śiva. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a story is found which explains her descent from her heavenly home. The same work also explains why the waters of the Ganges are so efficacious that people come from all parts of India once in a lifetime at least, to wash away their sins. There is a fulness in the promise to those who bathe in its flowing waters; it is that all sin—past, present and future—is by that act at once removed.

There are many works (Prayer to Bhagīrathī; Ganga Bākyaabali) which teach of the benefits which Ganga can confer on mortals. W. G. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*.

79. الرَا عَرْنِيَة Abul Faraj.

R. Perhaps this is a corruption of Rājānumaraniyya, 'they who perform Rājānumarana, death to follow their king's death.'

There is another sect whose practice is to grow long hair, which surrounds their face and covers the head, the hair on all sides being of the same length. These people do not drink wine. They have a hill known as Hawr'an⁸⁰ to which they go on a pilgrimage. They have, on this hill, a big temple in which is an image. On their return journey from the pilgrimage, they will not enter inhabited places. If they see any woman they flee from her.

Qazwīnī says that there are various sects among the people of Hind. Some believe in the Creator but not in prophets. They are the Brahmans. There are some who believe in neither. There are some who worship idols, some, the moon and some others, fire.

Castes :

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī* both mention the *Shākthariyya*⁸¹ caste.

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh* says that they are the most illustrious caste, and the kings are from among them. All other castes bow down to them, but they bow down to none.

Idrīsī gives the same information.

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*, *Abū Zayd*, and *Idrīsī* mention the *Barāhima*⁸² caste.

80. هورجن

R. It may be identified with Haridwar.

81. شاکثریه Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*
شاکریه Idrīsī

Sābkufriā, Elliot—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

R. *Shākthariyya*=Sanskrit Satkṣatriya, meaning the true Kṣatriya who claims to be superior to the rest of the Kṣatriya caste. Kings are from this class.

82. البراهمة Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*, *Abū Zayd*, and *Idrīsī*.

R. This refers to the Brahman caste.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh reports that they do not drink wine or intoxicating beverages.

Abū Zayd says that there are men of piety and learning among the people of Hind, known as Barāhima.

Idrīsī goes into greater detail. After the *Shākriyya* caste, he declares, come the Barāhima,* who are the religious class. They dress in skins of tigers and other animals. Sometimes one of them, taking a staff in his hand, will assemble a crowd round him and will stand there from morn till eve, speaking to his audience on the glory and power of God, explaining to them the events which brought destruction upon the ancient people.⁸³ The Barāhima never drink wine nor any kind of fermented liquors. They worship idols whom they consider to be able to intercede with the Most High.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and *Idrīsī* mention the caste *Kastriyya*.⁸⁴

Ibn Khurdādhbeh relates that they drink three cups⁸⁵ of wine only. The Barāhima do not give their daughters in marriage to this class, but marry from this caste.

Idrīsī says that they may drink as much as three *raṭl*⁸⁶ of wine, but not more, lest they should lose reason.

**Idrīsī's* information that Brahman comes after the Kṣatriya is incorrect. It is vice-versa.

83. "Upon the ancient people, that is upon the Brahmins." Elliot—*Idrīsī*, Vol. I, p. 76.

R. These accounts may refer to the Brahman Sanyāsis, men of learning and heads of monasteries, where they have a number of disciples under instruction and training for religious discussion.

84. *الكستريه* *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī*. comp. *كشتر* *Bīrūnī*.

85. *قدح* a measure of capacity as glass, tumbler, drinking cup.

86. *رطل* one pound, troy.

This caste may marry Barāhima women, but Barāhima cannot take their women to wife.⁸⁷

Shūdariyya :⁸⁸

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions that they are cultivators⁸⁹ and *Idrīsī* says that they are farmers and cultivators.⁹⁰

Bayshiyya :⁹¹

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and *Idrīsī* both state that they are artisans and workmen.⁹²

87. *Idrīsī's* information on the Brahman-Kshatriya marriage alliance is wrong. Perhaps his copy of *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* misled him.

R. *Kastriyya*=Kshatriya, the second or ruling and military caste of the four castes of Manu. In these days, many castes in Southern India, who are pure Dravidian people, claim this title and it is not possible to distinguish the pseudo-Kshatriyas from the genuine Kshatriyas.

88. الشودرية *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, الشودرية *Idrīsī*.

Compare شودر *Birūnī*.

89. "4th Sūdariā, who are by profession husbandmen." *Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

90. وهم الفلاحون واصحاب الزراعة

91. القسيه *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, البيشية *Idrīsī*.

عسيه *Edr.* Footnote on p. 81 of de Goeje's edition of *Ibn*

Khurdādhbeh.

92. "The 5th Baisurā, are artificers and domestics." *Elliot—Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

Sandāliyya:⁹³

Ibn Khurdādhbeh explains that they are musicians and singers; their women are beautiful.⁹⁴

Idrīsī gives the same information.

Dhunbiyya:⁹⁵

Ibn Khurdādhbeh relates that they are pleasant companions for conversation, who provide amusement by jests, music and acrobatics.⁹⁶

93. السندالية *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* and *Idrīsī*.

Sabdāliya (or Sandaliya) Elliot,—*Idrīsī*, Vol. I, p. 76.

Compare جنجال *Bīrūnī*.

94. "The 6th Sandāliya, who perform menial offices." Elliot—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, p. 16.

R. Caṇḍāla. It is defined as a generic term, meaning one who pollutes, to many low classes. By Manu it was laid down that "the abode of the Caṇḍāla and Svapaka must be out of the town. They must not have the use of entire vessels. Their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food broken pots; their ornaments rusty iron; continually must they roam from place to place. Let no man who regards his duty, religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them and let food be given to them in potsherds, but not by the hand of the giver." See E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, p. 15.

95. الركية - الدكة - الدكة *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*. الذنبية *Idrīsī*.

96. "7th, Lahūd, their women are fond of adorning themselves, and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill." Elliot—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

The text of *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* on p. 71 reads:

وهم سمر اصحاب لهو ومعارف ولعب

The text of *Idrīsī*:

وهم اصحاب لهو ولعب ومعارف وانواع من الآلات

de Goeje translates *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*: "Les Dhonbyya (Donba) gens

Idrīsī gives more or less the same information⁹⁷

d'un teint brun, qui sont jongleurs, bateleurs et joueurs de divers instruments," p. 52.

Samār سمار is generally associated with colour while سمر (plural of سامر) with reciters of stories. As the author is silent about the colour of other sects described above, he can hardly be expected to mention the colour of this particular community. Moreover the average Indian is of tawny colour.

de Goeje adds a footnote on this (p. 52): "Berouny, India, p. 49, l. 10 et 17, nomme la classe infime des Indiens بَدَّهَوُو. Il n'est pas douteux que le meme nom se trouve sous la forme بهند. dans les *Merveilles de l'Inde*. p. 117, l. 7. Comp. le Gloss. p. 194, et il est vraisemblable que la leçon de Beronuy n'est qu'une corruption de باهند."

97. "Lastly, the Zakya, who are jugglers, tumblers and players of various instruments." Elliot—*Idrīsī*, Vol. I, p. 76.

R. The name Domb or Dombo is said to be derived from the word *dumba* meaning devil, in reference to the thieving propensities of the tribe. They are a Dravidian race. They are regarded as a low and polluting class.

The Dombs are the weavers, traders, musicians, beggars and money lenders of the hills. Some own cattle and cultivate. The hill people in the interior are entirely dependent on them for their clothing. As musicians, they play on the drum and pipe.

R. Bīrūnī, however, differs from these writers and maintains that there were sixteen castes, the four well-known ones (Brahma, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra), five semi-untouchables and seven untouchables. His information on the caste system is more detailed and interesting, though it does not bear any direct connection with the Southern India.

The usual theoretical number of the castes is four, but it is rather strange that Greek writers like Megasthenes and Strabo and the Arab authors should concur in saying that their number was seven. The seven castes of the Arab writers are not identical with the seven castes described by the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes. The latter does not enumerate any of the untouchables among his castes, while the former includes two among the depressed classes.

See A. S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, Chap. XIV.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Transmigration of Souls :

Sulaymān, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Abū Zayd*, *Mas'ūdī* and *Dimishqī* all state that the people of Hind believe in the transmigration of souls.

Abū Zayd gives details on this point. In the kingdom of the *Balharā* and in other kingdoms of Hind, there are men who burn themselves in fire, because they believe in the transmigration of souls. They have firm belief in this doctrine and never admit of any doubt in it.

When the men and women of Hind become enfeebled by old age and sink under its weight, they request the members of their family to throw them into the fire or to drown them because they firmly believe they will return to some other body.

Dimishqī gives more details. The people of Hind, like the sects* *al-Naṣīriyya*, *al-Qarāmiṭa*, *al-Iḥādiyya*, and *al-Ismā'īliyya* believe in the transmigration of souls. They believe that in this life, the souls are in a narrow prison, and they think that after death, the souls will enter bodies and grow as they did in the previous birth and attain a greater degree of happiness. Hence they look upon death as life.

Sulaymān declares that both the people of China and Hind believe that their idols speak to them; but it is only the priests of the idols who speak to them.

Difference in details of religion :

Sulaymān and *Ibnul Faqīh* both relate that the people of Hind and China differ in religious matters that are not fundamental.

Ibnul Faqīh and *Ibn Rusta* say that the people of Hind believe that the origin of their books is from *Qumār*.⁹⁸

النصيرية - القرامطة - الإسماعيلية - الإسماعيلية *

98. Evidently this is a distortion of the fact mentioned by *Sulaymān* on p. 57 of the text. The Chinese believe that their religion was derived from Hind.

Pious Works :

Abū Zayd writes that the people of Hind have various usages by which they think they would approach God who is far beyond the imagination of the unjust. For example, they provide on the highways inns for the comfort of travellers and set up grocers' stores, so that those who pass by that way may purchase necessary things. They also settle in those inns women prostitutes to be employed by travellers for their pleasure. This is considered among them to be a meritorious service.⁹⁹

There are in Hind men who are great devotees of their religion. They seek new islands in the sea, plant in them cocoanut trees and dig wells to sell the water for passing ships.

BUILDINGS

Sulaymān mentions that the walls of the Chinese buildings are of wood, but the people of Hind build them with stones, plaster, bricks and clay, and such things. Sometimes the Chinese also build after this fashion.

99. This is a strange misrepresentation of facts. There are sometimes attached to temples and choultries widows who have voluntarily dedicated themselves to the service of these shrines. It is to these that the author may be referring, but he is quite mistaken in his allegations.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION

The general information on kings is gathered chiefly from the first group of writers and occasionally from Idrīsī, a writer of the fourth group. These details, such as they are, seem to be applicable to India as a whole; yet certain particulars, such as the description by Abū Zayd, of the custom observed by kings in Hind upon their accession to the throne, and the account by Sulaymān, Mas'ūdī and Idrīsī, of the funeral ceremony of kings, point unmistakably to the fact that the Arabs had greater intercourse with the people of the west coast, of the extreme south of the Indian peninsula and of the islands in the East Indies.

Almost all the Arab writers mention a number of kings and kingdoms, some in the north, some in the south, but there are a few whose identity is doubtful, and whose kingdoms cannot be accurately located.

Among the kings and kingdoms in Southern India our authors make repeated reference to one Balharā. No less than ten writers from Sulaymān to Dimishqī covering a period of about five centuries, mention him. They give various details explaining the name and the nature of the title 'Balharā' and other particulars about his kingdom, his position, wealth, influence and his provincial viceroy. There is, of course, the usual tendency in these writers to repeat what another has said, yet they give from time to time new and additional information, which, instead of being helpful in identifying the person intended by the title Balharā, tend to increase the existing confusion in the mind of the reader. These accounts may well convey the impression that the Balharā belongs to a dynasty of kings who were in power for a long time in Southern India. But the history of the Dekkan, during the period under reference, reveals a different picture of Southern India, describing constant feuds between several kings and gains

and losses which varied from time to time with the fortunes of war. Before attempting to reconcile the two divergent accounts of the Arab writers and the historians of Southern India, it will be helpful to know what the title 'Balharā' means.

The Arabic form 'Balharā' may be a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vallabharāja' (supreme king). This word 'Vallabharāja' should by rules of *prākṛt* or vernacular pronunciation become Vallabha-rāy, Ballaha-rāy or Balharāy. The last two forms are the same as Ballahrā or Balharā of the Arab writers who give the meaning for this title as 'King of kings.'

It is evident from the History of the Dekkan¹ that this title Vallabha² was first assumed by the early Cālukyas who came into prominence about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The first prince who raised this family to distinction was Jayasimha. He was succeeded by his son Pulakēsi who performed a great *aśva-mēdha* or horse-sacrifice. He made Vātāpipura, which has been identified with Bādāmi in the Kaladgi district, his capital. His full title was Satyāśraya Śrī Pulakēsi Vallabha Mahārāja. Of these words Vallabha appears to be the title of all the princes of this dynasty. In some cases Vallabha had Pṛthvī prefixed to it, so that the expression meant 'Lover or Husband of the earth.'

Pulakēsi II, who came to the throne in 611 A.D., was the greatest prince of this dynasty. His full title was Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthvī Vallabha Mahārāja. He reduced the Kadambas in Banavāsi, the prince of the Ganga family which ruled over the Cēra country situated about the modern Mysore, and the Mauryas of the Konkan. He defeated the kings of Lāta, Mālva, Gūrjara, who became his dependents. About this time Harṣavardhana, king of Kanoj, a powerful king of Northern India who made himself paramount sovereign of the north, endeavoured to extend his power south of the Narbada. He was opposed by Pulakēsi who

1. *Early history of the Dekkan* by Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (Third edition) is consulted for the purpose of this study.

2. The word Vallabha also means: Beloved, desired, dear; a lover, husband, favourite, friend.

killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward Pulakēsi received or assumed the title of Paramēśvara, or the Lord Paramount. He kept a strong garrison on the banks of the Narbada to guard the frontiers. Thus by his policy as well as by his valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Maharaṣṭrakas, containing ninety-nine thousand villages. Then he turned his attention towards the kings of Kosala and Kalinga, who trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against Conjeevaram, and laid siege to it. He then crossed the Kāvēri, and invaded the countries of the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas, who became his allies. Thus Pulakēsi established his supremacy throughout the South before 634 A.D.

It was in the reign of this king that Yüan Chuang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim visited India. He calls him Pu-lo-ki-she and has given a description of the king and his country.

Pulakēsi's fame reached even foreign countries. It is reported in an Arabic work³ that he sent an embassy to Khusraw

3. de Goeje's edition of *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī* has the following account on page 1052, Vol. II, prima series :

"Farmēsha (Paramēshvra) king of Hind, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you."

The name of the king in the Arabic text is Farmēsha, Sanskrit Paramēśvara or Lord Paramount, a title assumed by Pulakēsi after he defeated the army of Harṣavardhana, a king of Northern India.

Professor Noldeke who was perhaps not aware of this title of Pulakēsi, is at great pains to connect Farmēsha with Pulakēsi. From the Arabic *Farmēsha* he successfully arrives at Parmēsha; then he proceeds to say that as R and L are written with the same sign in Pehlvi, R is to be taken as a false mode of expressing L. As M may be substituted for K (Q) in the Arabic, or in the Pehlvi, it follows that the name may be correctly read as Pulakēsi. See J.R.A.S., Vol. XI (New Series), p. 166 and Noldeke: *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*—p. 371 and Note.

Parwīz, king of Persia, who reigned from 590—627 A.D., in the thirty-sixth year of that king's reign, and must have received one from him either before or after.

Hence it becomes clear that there was a supreme king in the whole of Southern India by about the middle of the seventh century A.D.

The power of this dynasty of early Cālukyas declined in the course of time. During the reign of Kīrtivarman II (747 A.D.) the Cālukyas were deprived of their power in Mahārāṣṭra and the sovereignty passed from their hands into those of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes. These were the real native rulers of the country. Though they were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes such as the Cālukyas and others, yet they were never extirpated. They always rose against the Cālukyas and were finally able to subjugate them.

The most noteworthy ruler of this line was Govinda III. He subjugated the Ganga prince of Cēra, the kings of Gūrjara and Mālva and brought the Pallava king of Kāñcī under a more complete subjection than before. As a result of his successful expeditions to the north and south, which were completed by the end of the 8th century A.D., he acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Mālva in the north to Kāñcīpura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Nerbada and the Tungabhadra. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhutavarṣa 'Raining profusely,' Pṛthvī Vallabha 'Lover of the earth' and Śrī Vallabha.

His son Amogavarṣa who succeeded Govinda III is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled Rāja Rāja, 'king of kings' and also as Vīra Nārāyaṇa.

Mānyakheta, the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in the time of Amogavarṣa. Mānyakheta has been properly identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions.

There were nineteen kings in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. The last one Kakkala (973 A.D.), said to have been a brave soldier, was conquered in battle by Tailappa who belonged to the Cālukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed from the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas once more into those of the Cālukyas, after a lapse of two hundred and twenty-five years.

Tailappa who re-established the power of the Cālukyas, reigned for twenty-four years, during which period he carried his arms into the country of the Cōlas, and humbled the kings of Guzarat and Chedi. He invaded Malva, took the king prisoner and beheaded him.

The greatest ruler of this later Cālukya family was Vikramāditya II who had his capital at Kalyana. He had among many other titles the title of Pṛthvī Vallabha Mahārājādhirāja. There were eleven kings of this dynasty which was powerful from 973 A.D. to 1189 A.D. By about the first half of the 12th century the power of the later Cālukyas began to decline rapidly. Some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. There was constant war and the Yādhavas under Vīra Ballāla subdued the Cālukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.

Thus it appears that the early Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and then the later Cālukyas held the first rank among the kings of Southern India from the middle of the seventh century to the end of the twelfth century A.D. The kings of these dynasties always had for one of their titles 'Vallabha rāja,' the Arabic form of which is 'Ballahrā' or 'Balharā'. In the light of the foregoing account of the history of this period, the consistent reference by the Arab authors, to the Balharā appearing on the surface to be a myth, is seen to yield some sense.

A critical analysis of the account of the Balharā furnished by the Arab writers shows that these authors should be classified under three groups.

Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta and Abū Zayd form one group, Mas'ūdī, Iṣṭakhṛī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Abul Faraj, another, while Idrīsī and Dimishqī form a separate group.

The information we get about the Balharā from the writers in Sulaymān's group is very general and vague, yet it is sufficiently clear to convey the impression of the Balharā's greatness, his position and power. As we already noticed, Pulakēsi, one of the early Cālukya princes, had established his supremacy by about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and his fame had reached even foreign courts. Sulaymān mentions Kamkam as a part of the kingdom of the Balharā; Ibn Khurdādhbeh and Ibn Rusta definitely say that the Balharā resides in Kamkam. As the book of Sulaymān is a mixed recital of a number of travellers and navigators in different times prior to 851 A.D., the narrator of the account of the Balharā,⁴ whose name is not known to us, must have been an early traveller who had heard about the power and fame of the early Cālukya kings. The knowledge of this traveller was only confined to the coastal area, namely Kamkam⁵ which extended a great distance along the west coast and may be supposed to have comprised the city Vātāpipura (Bādāmi) the capital of the Cālukyas. As Kamkam formed part of their kingdom, the narrator seems to have given a fairly correct estimate of the power of this dynasty. This fact must have been so familiar to the Arabs that later writers who had not visited the country, nor cared to enquire after fresh details on this point, repeated the traditional statement without being aware that the Cālukyas lost their supremacy as early as 757 A.D. when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas rose to be the first power in Southern India.

The authors from Mas'ūdī to Abul Faraj, though they base their accounts on earlier works, show an improvement upon these, and give new and additional information. All these speak of Mānkīr, the capital of the Balharā. The statement of Mas'ūdī that Mānkīr is eighty parasangs from the sea conveys the impression that it is an inland town and its identification with Malkhed in the

4. Pp. 26-28, Sulaymān.

5. For particulars on the extent of Kamkam (Konkan) see: Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, under p. 633, and Kamkam in this book p. 42.

Nizam's dominions seems probable. The information of Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal that Kanbāya to Saymūr is the land of the Balharā seems to be fairly correct as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes held sway over Guzarāt; Mas'ūdī's reference to Bāniyā, the Balharā's viceroy at Kanbāya, also confirms this conclusion.

Hence it may be presumed that the Balharā of these writers from Mas'ūdī to Abul Faraj refers to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings who were in power till 973 A.D.

Ibn Ḥawqal (975 A.D.) credits the Balharā with the authorship of a book of Proverbs. This Balharā may be identified with Amogavarṣa, one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes who is represented as having been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas, entitled *Jayadhavala*, is represented at the end as having been composed in the reign of Amogavarṣa. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled *Sārasaṁgraha* by Virācārya, Amogavarṣa is highly praised for his power and virtues and is spoken of as a follower of the Jaina doctrine.

The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled *Praśnōttara-ratnamālikā*, which has been claimed for Saṅkarācārya and one Saṅkaraguru by the Brahmans, and for Vimāla by the Śvetambaras, is attributed to king Amogavarṣa, by the Digambara Jainas. Thus it appears that among all the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes Amogavarṣa was the greatest patron of learning and culture.

By the time Idrīsī (1154 A.D.) began to compose his account, the later Cālukyas were the first power in Southern India. The greatest prince of this line was Vikramāditya II who ruled for fifty years, 1076--1126 A.D. He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was liberal and bountiful to the poor and was a great patron of learning. As the Arabs by this time had greater intercourse with India, it is natural that they were better acquainted with the fame, position, influence,

and wealth of the kings of this dynasty, and in some ways the account of Idrīsī reflects this. But it is curious that Idrīsī does not mention Kalyana the capital city of the later Cālukyas. He mentions Nahrwara in the North and Saymūr in the South as cities under the sway of the Balharā which facts may be taken as an indication of the extent of the Balharā's kingdom.

By the time of Dimishqī (1325 A.D.) the state of affairs in the South was different. His reference to the land of the Balharā must have been based upon the earlier accounts, and the few details he gives are confusing.

There are also references to other kingdoms. We get various arabicised Tamil words, which may be taken to refer to the three kingdoms of the Cēra, the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya. 'Āriṭī and Fāriṭ may stand for the Cēra, Ṣaylamān and Ṣūliyān for the Cōḷa, and 'Ābidī, 'Āba, Ghāba and Qāyḍī for the Pāṇḍya.

Besides, there are references to the minor kingdoms of Dabhol and Bāghar.

Thus the kingdoms of the Balharā, the Cēra, the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya, seem to complete the picture of Southern India to a great extent.

CHAPTER III
KINGS AND KINGDOMS

KINGS AND KINGDOMS

(a) GENERAL INFORMATION

Hereditary Succession :

Mas'ūdī informs us that royalty is limited to the descendants of one family and never goes to another.⁶ The same is the case with families of the *wazīr*, *qāẓī* and other high offices. They are never changed or altered.

Age for Succession :

The same author tells us that no king can succeed to the throne in India before he is forty years of age.

Women Rulers :

Yā'qūbī relates that some of the rulers of Hind are women.

Kings chosen from the Kṣatriya Caste :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and *Idrīsī* report that the kings of Hind are chosen from the *Shākriyya* caste.⁷

King's Appearance :

Mas'ūdī says that kings do not appear before the public except on particular occasions which are fixed at certain intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs, for in their opinion, the kings lose their respect and give away their privileges if the public gazes at them.⁸

6. Compare: "In every one of these kingdoms royalty is restricted to only one family and it never departs from that particular family."

Sulaymān, p. 51.

7. See under *Shākriyya* Caste.

8. See Hopkins, *Ordinances of Manu*, Lect, VII 6; 7.

Measures of Government :

Mas'ūdī reports that good government in Hind is ensured by (judicious) selection and giving everything its due place in the hierarchy of Government.⁹

Ceremony at the time of Accession to the Throne :

The description by *Abū Zayd*, of the custom observed by kings on their accession to the throne is incorporated in the general account of the people under the heading "Sacrifice for kings."¹⁰

Kings Independent of each other :

Sulaymān says that the several kings of Hind never pay allegiance to one sovereign, but each is independent in his territory. But the Balharā is the king of kings in Hind.

Wars :

The same author relates that sometimes they fight for supremacy though it is rare¹¹ adding "yet I have not seen any one who

9. Cf. "The measures of Government must be carried by mildness in India and by degradation from a high rank."

Sprenger,—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 184.

"Government is only maintained by good feeling and by respect for the various dignities of the state."

Elliot,—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

The text reads :

والرياسات عندها لا تجوز إلا بالتخير ووضع الاشياء مواضعها من

مراتب السياسة

Barbier, Vol. 1, p. 167.

10. See page 106 in this book.

11. This is contrary to the facts of history. There was constant warfare between the various kings in Southern India.

subdued the kingdom of another, except the people of Tilwa¹² in the country of pepper."

Conquered territory—how administered :

It is also *Sulaymān* who tells us that whenever any king subdues another country, he makes a man of the family of the defeated king, governor of it. He would be under his control. Else the inhabitants of that country will not agree to be governed otherwise.

Army :

The soldiers of Hind, *Sulaymān* says, are numerous. They are not paid by the king. Whenever they are called upon for field service, they go entirely at their own expense and they are not a charge on the king's purse.¹³ But the Chinese pay allowances to the soldiers as the Arabs.

Ibnul Faqīh gives the same information.

Mode of Warfare :

Mas'ūdī says that the kings fight in squares, each one amounting to twenty thousand men; so that every one of the four sides of the square has five thousand men.

Slit Ears :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that all the kings of Hind have slit ears.

Ornaments :

Ibnul Faqīh records that the kings of Hind wear ornaments.

Abū Zayd gives more details. He says that the kings of Hind wear ear-rings of precious stones set in gold. They also wear

12. *Sulaymān* evidently confuses the people of Tuluva community with the country of pepper, Malabar.

13. This statement is modified by the account of *Sulaymān* on p. 27, Arabic Text: "The Balharā is a king who gives allowances to soldiers after the manner of the Arabs."

collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of green and red. Pearls are highest in price and estimation. At the present day pearls constitute their treasures and riches.

Kings—their women not veiled :

Abū Zayd says that most of the kings do not veil their women. When they hold a court they allow their women to be seen by men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners.

Drinking and fornication :

The information given on drinking and fornication is included in Chapter II, which deals with the people in general.¹⁴

Desire to possess Elephants :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh mentions that the kings of Hind are eager to possess elephants of lofty stature and pay large sums for them. The elephants are nine cubits in height except those found in *Aḡhbāb* which are ten or eleven cubits high.

Religious Faith :

Abū Zayd says that all the kings of Hind and China believe in the faith of transmigration of souls. A person who may be relied upon relates: One of their kings had an attack of small-pox. After he recovered from it he looked in a mirror and thought his face very ugly. Then he turned towards the son of his brother and said to him thus: "No one like myself will live with this body after such a change. Verily it is only an abode for the spirit. When it passes away it migrates into another. So do you ascend the throne. I shall separate my soul from my body till I descend into another body." He called for one of his trenchant daggers and gave orders that his head should be cut off. Then he was burnt.

Funeral ceremony :

Sulaymān says that when the king of *Sarandīb* died they

14. See pp. 100-103 and pp. 112-113 in this book.

placed a kind of carriage¹⁵ just above the level of the ground and made the corpse lie on the back, with the hair of the head lying upon the ground. A woman held in her hand a broom and put the corpse to shame¹⁶ (addressing the men about the corpse in the following manner) : "O men ! This was your king yesterday who ruled over you and you obeyed his commands. Behold today ! See what he has come to, he has left the world ! The angel of death has taken away his soul. (Therefore) do not be deceived by this life." She spoke such words. This continued for three days and after that the body was prepared for burial. The body is embalmed with sandal, camphor and saffron and is burnt, and the ashes are scattered abroad to the winds.

Mas'ūdī gives the same account, but with a slight variation. He says, I have seen in the country of Sarandīb which is an island of the sea, that when a king dies, he is laid upon a car with small wheels, made for the purpose. His hair touches the ground, and a woman with a broom in her hand puts the corpse to shame,¹⁷

15. *صَيَّرَ عَلَى مَجَلَّةٍ قَرِيبًا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ* Text p. 49. Elongated

expression to convey a simple word in Tamil *பட்டை* (Pādai), a bier.

16. *وَأَمْرَأَةٌ بِيَدِهَا مَكْنَسَةٌ تَحْتُو التَّرَابَ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ* Text, p. 50.

"En meme temps, une femme, tenant un balai a la main, chasse la poussiere sur la figure du mort et crie ces mots."

Transl. Reinaud, p. 48.

"A woman follows with a broom, who sweeps the dust on to the face of the corpse, and cries out...." Elliot, p. 6.

حَتَا التَّرَابَ عَلَيْهِ and *فِي وَجْهِهِ* means he poured dust with his hand, threw it upon him, in his face. The meaning ought to be taken figuratively.

17. *وَأَمْرَأَةٌ بِيَدِهَا مَكْنَسَةٌ تَحْتُو التَّرَابَ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ* Barbier, p. 167.

"A woman with a broom in her hand sweeps dust on his head."

Sprenger, p. 184.

"Une femme, un balai à la main, jette de la poussiere sur la tete du mort, en criant....." Barbier. Vol. I. p. 167.

crying out : " O people ! this was yesterday your king and you were bound to obey his orders. See what has now become of him ! He has left this world and the King of kings, the Eternal, and Self Existent, Who dies not, has taken his soul. Do not be given to life after this example." These words are intended as an exhortation to a pious and abstemious life in this world. After a procession with the body through the streets of the town, they divide it into four parts and burn it with sandal wood, camphor and other perfume. The ashes are thrown to the winds.

In this manner the people of Hind mostly perform the funeral ceremony for their kings and great men. This is done for a purpose they state, and a future goal they have in view.

Idrīsī has the following account. When the king dies they construct a vehicle of an appropriate size, and raised about two spans¹⁸ above the ground. On this they place a cupola adorned with the crown¹⁹ and then the corpse, clad in all its funeral ornaments, is laid in it and is dragged by slaves all round the city. The head is uncovered for those who wish to see, and the hair is drawn out to the ground.²⁰ A herald goes before uttering, in the Indian language, words of which the following is the sense. " People ! Behold your king, so and so by name, son of so and so. He lived happily and mightily for so many years. He is no more, and all that he possessed has escaped from his hands. Nothing now

18. شبرين Two spans.

"Two palms." Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 88.

19. "On this they place the bier surmounted by the crown." Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 88.

But the text Bod. Mss. reads: ويوضع على الجملة قبة مكللة

20. وينسحب منه شعره وينجر على تراب الارض Idrīsī. Mss. Bodleian library.
The hair drags upon the ground—Elliot, Vol. 1, pp. 88-89.

remains to him and he will feel no more pain. Remember, he has shown you the way you must follow."

When the procession²¹ is concluded they take the corpse to the place where the bodies of the kings are burnt, and commit it to the flames. These people do not grieve and lament very much on these occasions.

The accounts of these three writers are in effect the same, although they vary to some extent in details.

21. *ناذا فرغ من الطوائف* Idrīsī Mss. Bodleian Library.

"When all the ceremonies are concluded."

Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 89.

R. As Sulaymān's account definitely conveys the impression that the funeral ceremony pertains only to the kings of Ceylon it may be argued that the account cannot find a place in the present work which is restricted to Southern India. But Mas'ūdī who gives details almost identical with those given by Sulaymān qualifies his account with the statement that this is the manner of the funeral ceremony observed mostly by the people of Hind for their kings.

In this connection it may be said that the accounts provide a clear instance that Mas'ūdī follows Sulaymān. Further, as Mas'ūdī was a traveller we expect that he should give us more details pertaining to the place and observances of this ceremony. He disappoints us in this and simply passes it over with a statement at the end of the account that this is the custom with the people of Hind. These considerations argue that, apart from the general lack of interest in these writers to study the customs of Hindus seriously, the Arabs during the periods of Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī were more familiar with the islands in the East Indies rather than with the west coast of the Indian peninsula. This fact has also been noticed in the course of the discussion on the etymology of the word "Malibār." See under Malibār, p. 56, in this book.

Idrīsī's account shows that he had a different source. He might have had his information from contemporary travellers or from some of the earlier works which are not known to us so far. The latter seems to be more probable.

Preparation for Meals :

Abū Zayd : Kings and persons of high rank in Hind have fresh tables made for them every day, together with little dishes and plates, woven of the cocoanut leaf, in which they eat the food. And their meal over, they throw the table, the dishes and plates into the water, together with the fragments they have left. Thus at every meal they have a new service.

Princes :

Idrīsī notes that the princes of Hind grow long hair.

Grandeess:²² Dress and Conveyance:

Abū Zayd : The grandeess of the court, and the officers of the army wear pearls. The chief²³ among them is carried on the neck of a man (in a palanquin). He wears a *fūṭa* and holds in his hand a *chatra*, that is a parasol of peacock feathers to shade himself from the sun. At the same time he is surrounded by his followers.²⁴

22. وجوه

23. الرئيس

24. The text reads as follows :

والرئيس منهم يركب على عنق رجل منهم وعليه فوطه وقد استتر بها
وفي يده شئ يعرف بالجنرة وهي مظلة من ريش الطواويس ياخذها
بيده فيتقي بها الشمس واصحابه محذون

Abu Zayd, p. 145.

R. It is rather strange that the word 'palanquin' is not used by the writer. Besides the picture also is not correctly portrayed. The *ra'is* will not hold a *chatra* in his hand when he sits inside the palanquin. The mace bearers and umbrella-holders will walk in front and on either side of the palanquin while the companions follow the palanquin.

چتر P. chatre (s. chhatra) An umbrella, parasol (especially as an ensign of royalty).

The description of the *chatra* is wrong here as it is not made of peacock feathers.

(b) DESCRIPTION OF KINGS AND KINGDOMS

King Ratīla called al-‘Ābidī:²⁵

Ibn Rusta quotes a narrator²⁶ who says: “I saw the king called al-‘Ābidī, he is the king Ratīla. There are no elephants in his land. He purchases elephants, but he does not buy those more than five cubits in height, because elephants over five cubits are sold at the rate of one thousand *dīnārs* for every cubit over five up to nine.”

25. وَرَأَيْتُ هَذَا الْمَلِكَ الَّذِي يُقَالُ لَهُ الْعَابِدِي وَهُوَ مَلِكُ رَتِيلَا

26. The name of the narrator is not given.

R. The same narrator speaks of three kings, al-‘Ābidī, al-‘Āriṭī, his neighbour, and a third king called al-Ṣaylamān, more powerful than the other two. The word Ṣaylamān, (the Ṣūliyān of Dimishqī) which undoubtedly refers to the Cōlas gives the clue that the words ‘Ābidī and ‘Āriṭī must refer to the other two kingdoms of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra. This conjecture is further confirmed by the Ms. *Ṭabā‘i-al-Ḥayawān*, discovered by Dr. Arberry, Librarian, India Office, and being edited by Professor Minorsky of the School of Oriental Studies, London, which reads thus:—

وَوَرَاهُ مَلِكٌ رَسَلَا وَيُقَالُ لَهُ حَادِسٌ ثُمَّ يَلِيهِ مَلِكٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ
الْعَارِطِيُّ ثُمَّ يَلِيهِ مَلِكٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ صِيلْمَانٌ وَهُوَ اعْظَمُ مِنْ . . .

حَادِسٌ corresponds to رَتِيلَا of *Ibn Rusta* and رَسَلَا is without doubt Pāṇḍyan. By what process of transformation the word Pāṇḍyan became al-‘Ābidī in the copy of *Ibn Rusta* is beyond all calculations. Thus it appears that Ratīla is the name of the Pāṇḍyan king. Perhaps this Ratīla may be identified with Rāja Simha II (about 900 A.D.), the donor of the larger Sīnnamanūr plates which have been discovered in recent times.

Mas‘ūdī says: The kings who rule over Mandūrfīn are called al-Qāyḍī (القَيْدِي). This is again a corruption of the word Pāṇḍyan. See under al-Qāyḍī.

King called al-'Āriṭī: 27

Ibn Rusta on the authority of a narrator²⁸ says that the neighbour to *Ratīla* is another king called *al-'Āriṭī*.

Ya'qūbī places the kingdom of *al-Fāriṭ* after the kingdom of *al-Daybul*.

Kingdom of Bāghira: 29

Mas'ūdī says that crocodiles abound in this sea of *Hind* which has many bays like the bay of *Sindābūr* in the kingdom of *Bāghira* in *Hind*.

27. العارطي Ibn Rusta.

28. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

R. Whatever may be the present form عارطي in the text, the narrator has doubtless meant it to refer to the *Cēra* king when he mentions that name between 'Ābidi (Pāṇḍya) and Ṣaylamān (Cōla) kings.

The author of *Ṭabā'i'-al-Ḥayawān* who does not seem to follow *Ibn Rusta* has also mentioned العارطي in the same manner.

As *Ya'qūbī* mentions *al-Fāriṭ* العارط after *al-Daybul*, it must refer to the *Cēra* Kingdom only. See under *Daybul* and *Fāriṭ*.

29. باغرة Barbier, p. 207.

Baghar or Baghira, Sprenger, p. 234.

باغر (ياغر) Sprenger, foot note on p. 234.

Bāghara, Elliot, Vol. 1, p. 22.

R. The kingdom of *Bāghira* may have reference to *Hābu* kings, whose capital was *Siddhāpūr*. Many crocodiles are found in the *Kalinadi* at *Kadra* and *Siddhāpūr*. See under *Sindābūr*, p. 73 in this book.

Elliot says: "This (Bāghara) must be intended for "Balharā" in whose kingdom *Sindābūr* seems to have been situated." Vol. I, p. 22, note 1.

Elliot's information does not appear to be correct.

The Balharā :³⁰

Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta, Mas'ūdī, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Abul-Faraj, Idrīsī, Dimishqī—all these ten writers speak about the Balharā.

Meaning of the title Balharā :

Of these writers, only four³¹ say that the title Balharā signifies 'king of kings.'


Nature of the title :


As to the nature of this title Sulaymān says that 'Balharā' is the title common to every one of their sovereigns like the title Kisrā and such other titles and it is not a proper name.

Mas'ūdī has the following remark. A king named Balharā became the master over Mānkīr, the great metropolis. He was the first who had the name Balharā which became subsequently the title of every sovereign of that great capital down to our time which is the year 332 A.H.

Ibn Ḥawqal says that the king is known after the name of the country as they say Ghāna غانا which is the name of the country as well as the name of the king. The same with Kūgha كوغا and the like.

Idrīsī goes into greater details. He says that the name Balharā is hereditary here as in other parts of the country, where, when a king ascends a throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir. This is a regular custom from which these

30.  All writers.

 Sprenger-Mas'ūdī, p. 176.

31. Sulaymān, Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibn Rusta and Idrīsī.

people never depart. There is the same rule with the kings of Nubia, Zanj, Ghāna,³² Persia and in the Roman empire in respect of the hereditary descent of names.

Idrīsī further says that the work of 'Ubaydullāh Ibn Khurdādhbeh contains a passage concerning this which is worth quoting.³³

"Kings," he says, "generally bear hereditary titles—thus those of China have been called Bagh-būgh and also Baghbūn for centuries till this day and the titles descend in regular order. Among the kings of India there are the Balharā, Jāba, Tāfar,³⁴ al-Hazr,³⁵ Ghāna,³⁶ Dahmā³⁷ and Qāmrūn. These names are only taken by the prince who reigns over the province or the country, no other has any right to assume them, but whoever reigns takes the name. Among the Turks, the Tibetans and the Khazars, the king is called Khāqān, but among the Khazluj he takes the title of Jabghūya, which is hereditary. Likewise the kings of al-

32. عاقبة Idrīsī Ms. Poc. 375.

33. The passage referred to by Idrīsī is not to be traced anywhere in de Goeje's edition of Ibn Khurdādhbeh. In de Goeje's edition القاب ملوك الارض is discussed on p. 16 and القاب ملوك خراسان والمشرق is discussed on p. 39.

34.	الطافر	Bib. Nat. Paris.
	العنافر	Ms. Poc. 375 Bod. Library.
35.	المحرر	Ms. Poc. 375. Bod. Library.
36.	عابه	Ms. Poc. 375. Bod. Library and Bib. Nat. Paris.
37.	دمني	Ms. Poc. 375. Bod. Library.

Idrīsī's manuscripts

قامرون - رمي - غابة - جزر - طافن - جابة - بلهرا - Compare
Ibn Khurdādhbeh, p. 16.

"Tāfir, Hazr (Juzr) Ābāt, Dumī, (Rahmī) and Kāmrūn." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 86.

Zābaj are called al-Fatijab, a hereditary title. In the Roman empire they take the title of Caesar which is inherited by all those who become kings. Among the Aghzāz they are called *Shāh-Shāh*, that is, king of kings, a title hereditary like the rest. Finally among the Persians they are called al-Akāsira. Among the people who dwell in the Sudan the names of the kings are derived from their countries—thus the ruler of *Ghāna* is called *Ghāna*, the king of *Kūgha* *كروغة* is called *Kūgha*.

Kingdom of the Balharā :

Sulaymān says that the kingdom of the Balharā begins from the coast of the sea comprising the country called Kamkam, and extends by land as far as China.³⁸

That Kamkam (Konkan) is the country of the Balharā may be deduced from the statement of Ibn Khurdādhbeh that the Balharā resides in Kamkam.

Ibn Rusta says that the Balharā lives in his country called Kamkam. He is a king, master of a vast territory.

Ya'qūbī simply states that the kingdom of the Balharā comes after Rahmā.

Abū Zayd brings in the name 'kingdom of the Balharā' when he speaks about the faith of the people of Hind in the transmigration of souls.

Mas'ūdī says that the distance between the capital city of

R. Idrīsī's Mss. have various readings of the titles of foreign kings, which are obviously due to bad writing. Correct forms are substituted in the place of wrong ones.

38. Compare : "The kingdom of the Balharā commences on the seaside at the country of Komkam (Konkan) on the tongue of land which stretches to China." Elliot,—*Sulaymān*, Vol. I, p. 4.

وارضه اولها ساحل البحر هي بلاد تدعى الكيم متصلة على الارض الى الصين

Sulaymān, Text, p. 28.

the Balharā and the sea is eighty Sindī parasangs and every such parasang has eight miles. His country is also called Kamkar.³⁹

Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal say that from Kanbāya to Saymūr is the land of the Balharā, one of the kings of Hind,⁴⁰ and the latter adds that the country of the Balharā is extensive.

Idrisī relates that the kingdom of the Balharā is vast, well-populated, commercial and fertile. Saymūr and Nahrwārah belong to a country whose king is called the Balharā.

Dimishqī seems to be confused when he says that the land of the Balharā is on the border of Sīn-al-Sīn while Jazrāt also is adjacent to Sīn-al-Sīn.⁴¹

39. Kiminkar—Sprenger, p. 389.

40. Compare: "From Kanbaya to Saimur is the land of the Balharā, and in it there are several Indian kings." Elliot—*Iṣṭakhri*, Vol. 1, p. 27.

The text of Iṣṭakhri (de Goeje, p. 173) reads thus:

و من کنایه الی صیمور من بلد بلهرا بعض ملوک الهند

The word بعض may sometimes mean one, though it connotes generally more than one.

Against this, the text of Ibn Ḥawqal (de Goeje, p. 227) is very clear:

و من کنایه الی صیمور و هو بلد بلهرا

But Elliot's version of Ibn Ḥawqal, (p. 34) says: "From Kanbāya to Saimūr is the land of the Balharā and in it there are several Indian kings." See also foot-note 5 on the same page.

41. The following details on the mountain of the Balharā gathered from various pages of his work show further Dimishqī's confusion:

"The mountain of the Balharā is in the second climate," he says, "the latitude of which is from 20° to 27°" (p. 19). "The river Mankhar-rūr-Khansh comes out of the mountains of the Balharā, flows through the frontiers of Tājah, and the land of bamboos and empties into the sea of big Ma'bar". (p. 101). "The skirts of the mountains of the Balharā form the frontier on the northern side of their country, while the big ocean is the eastern boundary." (p. 169).

The mountains of the Balharā are in continuation of the gates of China, extending as far as the country of Jazrat. There are about seventy fortresses

The Balharā's Capital:

Mas'ūdī gives, for the first time, indication about the capital city. He says that the Balharā was the king of Mānkīr, the great metropolis. The inhabitants of Mānkīr which is the residence of the Balharā speak the Kīriyya language.

Iṣṭakhrī remarks that the city in which the Balharā dwells is Mānkīr which has an extensive territory.⁴²

Abul Faraj says that the Balharā lives in the city of Mānkīr.

Neighbouring Kings and Kingdoms:

Sulaymān has the remark that round about the Balharā's kingdom there are many kings who are at war with him but he has the upper hand over all of them.

Ibn Rusta states that there are many kings who are his neighbours.

Mas'ūdī gives fuller details. The dominions of the Balharā border on many other kingdoms in Hind; some kings have their territory in the mountains and are not in possession of sea as the Rāy, the ruler of Qashmīr and the king of Tāfan and other sovereigns of Hind; others are in possession of land and sea.

At some distance from him is the territory of Ba'ūrah.⁴³

نَوْوَرَه the king of Qannawj, who is not in possession of

in these mountains of the Balharā all under the jurisdiction of the town Manjarūrsāh (p. 170).

42. The same information is found in Elliot's version of Ibn Hawqal, but the text has no reference to Mānkīr and the words "extensive territory" as they stand in the text refer to the country of the Balharā.

وببلاد بلهرا مساجد يجمع فيها الجماعات ويقام بسائرها الصلوات
بالاذان على المنابر والاعلان بالكبير والتفليل وهي مملكة عريضة

de Goeje—Ibn Hawqal, p. 228.

43. نَوْوَرَه (نَوَوَرَه or نَوَوَرَه) Sprenger, p. 380.

sea. He is an enemy of the Balharā, the king of Hind. The king of Qannawj has four armies corresponding with the four cardinal winds and each army is composed of seven hundred thousand men, also said as nine hundred thousand men. The army of the north has to oppose the king of Multan and his allies, the army of the south has to defend the country against the Balharā, the king of Mānkīr, and in the same manner are the other armies engaged against other neighbouring powers.

On one side, the country of the Balharā, called Kamkar, is exposed to the inroads of the king of Juzr; on another side, it is exposed to the attacks of Rahmā.

Respect paid to the Balharā :

Sulaymān says that both the people of Hind and China are agreed upon the fact that the kings of the world may be reckoned as four. They hold the king of the Arabs as the first of the four. It is the unanimous opinion of all and there is no dispute on this point that he is the most powerful of all kings and most wealthy and glorious of all. He is the head of a great religion and there is no religion to surpass it. Then they place the king of China next to the king of the Arabs, then the king of Rūm and then the Balharā, the king of those who have slit ears. This Balharā is the most illustrious king in Hind. The people of Hind acknowledge his superiority. All other kings of Hind, though each is independent, acknowledge the Balharā as the most glorious of them all. They pray to his ambassadors to honour him.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that the greatest king of Hind is the Balharā.

Ibn Rusta: The kings round about him pray to him, and whenever the ambassadors of the Balharā visit their cities they honour them out of respect for the Balharā.

Mas'ūdī says that the greatest king of Hind in our times is the Balharā, the lord of Mānkīr. Most of the kings in Hind turn in their prayers towards him and they adore his messengers when they receive them.

Army :

Sulaymān says that the Balharā has many horses and elephants. He is a king who gives allowances to soldiers after the manner of the Arabs.

Ibn Rusta restricts himself with the statement that the Balharā is master of a large army.

Mas'ūdī relates that his troops and elephants are innumerable and his army consists mostly of infantry, for his dominions are mountainous. The Balharā pays his army from the public treasury as the Muslims do. His war elephants are beyond number.

Abul Faraj says that the Balharā owns sixty thousand elephants.

Idrīsī says he has troops and elephants; the elephants are numerous and these constitute the chief strength of his army.

The ministers and commanders of the troops never accompany the king except when he marches against those who defy him (or to deprive his governors of their power),⁴⁴ or to repulse encroachments made upon his territories by neighbouring kings.

Wealth:

While Sulaymān says that the Balharā's wealth is in *dirhams* called *Tāṭariyya*, Idrīsī gives a few details. The kingdom of the Balharā pays abundant taxes so that the king is immensely rich.

Accounts about the person Balharā :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh says that the Balharā has inscribed the following words in his ring: "He who befriends you for a purpose will turn away after its completion".⁴⁵

44. Elliot's version of Idrīsī omits this.

45. The Arabic text (de Goeje, p. 67) reads thus:—

من وذك لا مروني مع انتطاعه

But Elliot's translation of Ibn Khurdādhbeh (Vol. I, p. 13) says thus: "What is begun with resolution ends with success."

Abul Faraj says that every year the Balharā, king of Mānkīr, rides to the temple, nay, he goes by foot to the temple and returns to his residence riding on horse.

Idrīsī relates that he worships idols; he wears a crown of gold upon his head, and (robes woven with gold).⁴⁶ He rides a good deal on horseback, but especially once a week when he goes out attended only by women, one hundred in number, (clad in dress of gold embroidery,⁴⁷ adorned with beautiful jewels, wearing bracelets⁴⁸ of gold and silver upon their hands and feet and letting down their hair on their backs⁴⁹). They engage in various games and sham fights while their king marches at their head.

Ibn Hawqal says that the Balharā is the author of the *Book of Proverbs*.⁵⁰

Relationship between the Balharā and the Arabs and the Muslims:

Sulaymān says that in the whole country of Hind there is none more affectionate to the Arabs than the Balharā and likewise his subjects also profess the same love for the Arabs.

46. "and dresses in rich stuffs."—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 87.

47. P. *قرطق - القراطق المذهبة* P. Tunic.

These may refer to costly silk *sāris* and jackets with embroidered work.

48. P. *اساوره - اساور - اسورة* Pl. *سوار*

49. "richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and their hands, and their hair in curls." Elliot, Vol. I, p. 88.

50. This may have reference to *Praśnōttara-ratnamālīka*, a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects. The authorship of this book is attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amogavarṣa. See R. G. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, pp. 117-119, and also the introduction to Chapter III in this book.

The Balharā line of kings live for a long period, many have ruled for fifty years. The people of the country of the Balharā believe that the longevity of their sovereigns and their prosperity in the land are due to their love for the Arabs.

Mas'ūdī gives the following information. There is no sovereign either in Sind or Hind who honours the Muslims like the Balharā in his kingdom.⁵¹ Islam is therefore flourishing in his country. The mosques and cathedral mosques are built and prayers are regularly said in these. The Balharā kings are long-lived and reign forty, fifty and more years and the people of his country⁵² believe that the length of the life of their sovereigns is due to the justice and the respect paid to the Muslims.

Iṣṭakhrī says that there are, in the cities of the Balharā, Muslims, and none but Muslims rule over them on behalf of the Balharā. There are mosques built in these cities and prayers are regularly said.

Ibn Ḥawqal who gives similar information has additional details. He says: "This is the same practice that I found in most of the cities ruled over by infidel kings like Khazar, al-Sarīr, al-Lān, Ghāna and Kūgha. In all these cities the Muslims, however few they are, will not tolerate the exercise of authority, nor the imposition of punishment, nor the testimony of a witness except by Muslims. But in some parts I have seen Muslims seeking witness among non-Muslims who have reputation for honesty and the other

51. "Neither in Hind, nor in Sind, is there a sovereign who disturbs the peace of the Muslims in their own country." Sprenger p. 388.

Then, in a foot note to this, Sprenger says: "one copy reads: 'who persecutes the Muslims in his country, so for instance, the Balhara' and all that follows respecting the longevity of the kings is said there in reference to the Balharā.

52. "and the (Muslim) subjects believe." Sprenger, p. 389.

party is satisfied. Sometimes the other party refuses to accept the witness, and Muslim takes his place and so the decision will be reached.

Coin in the kingdom of the Balharā :

Both Sulaymān and Mas'ūdī mention a *dirham* called *Ṭāṭariyya*.⁵³ Each *dirham* weighs one *dirham* and a half. While Mas'ūdī remarks that the coin bears the date when their king succeeded to the throne, Sulaymān gives fuller details. He says that the coin is made with the die of the king.⁵⁴ Its date is in a year counted from the reign of his predecessor, not like the custom of the Arabs from the era of the Prophet. Their dates are according to their kings.

*Bāniyā*⁵⁵, the Balharā's Viceroy :

The Balharā had his viceroy at Kanbāya, as is learnt from Mas'ūdī. He says, "I visited Kanbāya in 303 A.H. (915 A.D.).

53. طاطرية Sulaymān, p. 27.

طاهرية Barbier—Mas'ūdī, p. 382.

طلطوية Barbier—Mas'ūdī, foot note p. 403.

Talatawian طاطرية Tatarian طاطرية Sprenger—Mas'ūdī, p. 389.

54. The text of Sulaymān p. 27 reads thus:

وَتَرَنَ كُلُّ دَرَاهِمٍ دَرَاهِمٌ وَنَعَفَ بِسَكَّةِ الْمَلِكِ وَتَارِيخِهِ فِي سَنَةِ مَنْ مَلَكَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ

R. Many writers mention this Ṭāṭariyya dirham and Sindhī dīnārs. Ibn Rusta and Idrīsī mention Ṭāṭariyya, Abū Zayd Sindhī dīnārs, and Maqdisī Ṭāṭariyya and Sindhī dīnārs.

It is not possible to identify the Ṭāṭariyya dirham with any other coin current in the country then. The principal coins that were in circulation in Southern India during the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭas are: Dramma, Suvarna, Gadyānaka, Kalanju and Kāśu—For details see A. S. Altekar, *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, p. 364.

55. بانيا Barbier—Mas'ūdī, p. 254.

Babina (بانيا) Sprenger—Mas'ūdī, p. 278.

when Bāniyā, the Brahman⁵⁶ was reigning there on behalf of the Balharā the sovereign of Mānkīr. This Bāniyā liked to enter into discussions with visitors to his city from among Muslims as well as those of other faiths.⁵⁷

56. "During the government of Babina who was appointed there as Brahman by the Balhara." Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 278.

R. Bāniyā belongs to the Brahman caste. Sprenger's translation gives a wrong connotation.

Mawlawī Sayyid Sulaymān ṣāhib Nadwī, the writer of an article "Early Muslim Geographers on India" in "Islamic Culture," Vol. XI, October 1937, p. 488, translates thus: "Kanbaya which was ruled over by a Brahman trader who owed allegiance to Rajah Vallabha Rai." But the text edited by Barbier de Meynard (Paris 1861, Vol. I, p. 254) reads thus:

والملك يرصد بانيا وكان برهما نيا من قبل بلهرا

This clearly indicates that Bāniyā is the name of the ruler, a member of the Brahman community.

Perhaps the learned Mawlawī ṣāhib took Bāniyā to be a Hindi word, *Banyā*, *Baniyā*, which means merchant, trader, shop-keeper, etc. This Hindi word itself is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Vanik' and came to be applied to the merchant class among the Hindus of Northern India in modern times.

It is gathered from the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor, Govinda IV had visited Kapittaka to attend the festival of Paṭṭabandha in Śāka 852 (930 A.D.). The Lāta country which includes Kanbāya (Cambay) was under the government of Govinda IV, whose period coincides with that of Mas'ūdī, 303 A.H. The emperor usually appointed Brahman as his agents, and not Baniyas (merchants). See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII, p. 26.

57. وكان لبانيا هذا عناية بالمناظرة ومع من يرد الى بلد
من المسلمين وغيرهم من اهل المل

Barbier, Vol. I, p. 254.

The letter و before مع is evidently a mistake. The text should be read without it.

Barbier translates thus:

"Ce Bania traitait avec le plus grande faveur les musulmans et les sectateurs d'autres religions qui arrivaient dans son pays."

*King of Barūṣ*⁵⁸ :

Dimishqī relates that Samarqandī tells⁵⁹ the following story: The king of Barūṣ visited an idol and saw around its neck a necklace of great value. He took it from its neck and adorned himself with it. To the ministers who objected to this, he answered, "It is a gift to me from the idol. If you do not agree I shall break it (to pieces), but if you are truthful, it is the idol that gave it to me." The priests pretended to believe in his word.

Daybul :⁶⁰

Ya'qūbī mentions the kingdom of Daybul after Qumār and before Fāriṭ.

58. بروص

59. Le morceau depuis دىكى jusqu'à la fin du chapitre manque dans les trois msscrts. Dimishqī, F. note (d) p. 172.

R. Mehren suggests "le roi Borouc (Porus)." But there is no evidence to suggest that it refers to the king Porus who fought against Alexander the Great. After the description of the temple of Somnat, yōgis and Brahmins, Dimishqī introduces this story about the king of Barūṣ and then proceeds to describe Kanbāya and Barūṣ (Broach). If the reference were to be to the king Porus it is very likely that the Arabs, who had access to the works of early Greek writers, learnt this story through them. Dimishqī, who quotes Samarqandī as his authority, thought, perhaps, that it referred to the king of Barūṣ (Broach). Historically the city of Broach does not seem to have been connected with any king.

60. الديبل

R. This may be identified with Dabhol, a sea port as famous as another port Chaul, both on the west coast lying south of Bombay.

Ferrand in his *Relations des Voyages* (p. 48) identifies it with Daybul in Sind and connects it with a city of the same name mentioned by Ibn Ḥawqal, Idrīsī and Abul Fidā. But it is rather difficult to believe that Ya'qūbī's knowledge of places in Northern India went beyond Kanbāya. His account contains references to more places in the south and Daybul is mentioned after Sarandib and Qumār and before Fāriṭ (Cāra kingdom). So it may be understood that his Daybul refers to Dabhol on the west coast. This view is strengthened when he says that the Hindī musk is carried to Daybul and then exported by sea.

Fāriṭ :⁶¹

Yā'qūbī mentions *Fāriṭ* after Daybul and before the kingdom of the Balharā.

King Ghāba :⁶²

Ibn Khurdādhbeh and *Idrīsī* make mention of the king *Ghāba* before the king *Rahmā*.

61. الفارط

R. *Fāriṭ* may refer to one of the three kingdoms in the extreme south of the peninsula, namely, Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms.

Ibn Rusta mentions al-'*Āriṭī*, a neighbour to *Ratīla* called al-'*Ābidi* (Pāṇḍya) and then speaks about *Ṣaylamān* (Cōla). '*Āriṭī* عارطى of *Ibn Rusta* may get corrupted into *Fāriṭ*, فارط, as in a bad handwriting, ع may be confused for ف. The ي at the end in such cases is generally not important as it is sometimes meant for relative adjective, and it does not affect the main word. Thus '*Āriṭī* and *Fāriṭ* may stand for one and the same name. Since '*Āriṭī* is identified as referring to a Cēra king, it may be concluded that *Fāriṭ* also may represent a Cēra king.

Houtsma proposes to correct الفارط al-*Fāriṭ* as الناربط al-*Nārbiṭ* (Nerbudda?). It appears a needless correction. See *Houtsma*, p. 106, foot-note 1.

62. غابة Ibn Khurdādhbeh.

غابة - غابة Idrīsī.

Compare: "Ghānah"—*Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 13, l. 8.

'Ana—*Elliot*, Vol. I, p. 13, l. 25.

Foot-note 4 on the same page says: "The Paris version here reads: "'Anah" but in the first paragraph the name is given as "Ghanah," Sir H. *Elliot*'s text has "'Aba."

Idrīsī alone has the remark⁶³ that this name is only taken by the prince who reigns over the province or the country, no other has any right to assume it, but whoever reigns takes the name.

Al-Qāyḍī,⁶⁴ king of *Mandūrfīn* :

Mas'ūdī says the kings who rule over *Mandūrfīn*⁶⁵ are styled as *al-Qāyḍī*.

King *al-Ṣaylamān* :⁶⁶

Ya'qūbī mentions the kingdom of *al-Ṣaylamān* after that of *al-Fāriṭ* (*Cēra*).

Ibn Rusta quotes a narrator⁶⁷ who says : " I saw the king *al-ʿĀbidī*, his neighbour king *al-ʿĀriṭī*, and another king *al-Ṣaylamān*. This king is more powerful than the other two, and commands a

63. The information is quoted by *Idrīsī* from the work of *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, but de Goeje's edition of *Ibn Khurdādhbeh* gives no such information.

R. This name *Ghāba* or *ʿĀba*, no doubt seems to be another form of *ʿĀbidī* (*Pāṇḍya*) of *Ibn Rusta*, and *Idrīsī*'s remark that *ʿĀba* is the title assumed by the reigning sovereign points to the conclusion that *ʿĀba* stands for the title *Pāṇḍya*.

See under *ʿĀbidī*.

64. القايدي Mas'ūdī.

65. See under *Mandarī*.

R. *al-Qāyḍī* of *Mas'ūdī* refers to the title of *Pāṇḍya* assumed by the rulers of *Madura*. The form given by *Mas'ūdī* is better than *ʿĀbidī* of *Ibn Rusta* and comes very near مادي of the author of *Ṭabāʾi-al-Hayawān*. See under *ʿĀbidī*.

66. الصليمان

67. The name of the narrator is not mentioned.

larger army. They say his army numbers about seventy thousand men. He has few elephants, but the people of Hind say that the elephants of al-Ṣaylamān are more brave in battle than all the elephants owned by the peoples in Hind.

I saw one of his elephants al-Namrān النمران⁶⁸ the like of which I never saw with any other king of Hind. This elephant is white, spotted with dark marks. There is no other elephant more brave than this in battle.

They kindle a big fire, and charge the elephants at it; those which stand up to the fire and rush into it will be bold in battle. The elephants that are cowardly are neither fit for war, nor for riding. They are used for transshipment of goods, as is done on camels.

Dimishqī says that close to Kawlam,⁶⁹ the last city of the Country of pepper, is the country of al-Ṣuliyān,⁷⁰ which includes the big Ma'bar and the small Ma'bar.⁷¹

68. The Arabic word نَمْرًا (to be spotted), suggests that the narrator may have attempted to describe in Arabic the elephant with dark spots, though he has made it appear that it is not an Arabic word.

If it is not an Arabic word, it may be connected with either of the following Tamil words, நம்பிரான் *Nampirān*—Lord, நம்பியான் *Nampiyān*—a title of the officiating priests. It is a common custom to call favourite animals after popular names.

69. See under Kawlam.

70. بلاد الصوليان

71. See under Ma'bar.

R. The statement of Ibn Rusta that al-Ṣaylamān was more powerful than the other two kings is confirmed by the author of *Ṭabāʾiʾ-al-Ḥayawān*, a manuscript in the India Office.

The Cōlas rose into power from the 10th century A.D. and for about three centuries the Pāṇḍyan kingdom formed a part of the Cōla empire. Dimishqī's statement that it included the two Ma'bars shows the extent of their territory.

KINGS AND KINGDOMS WHOSE IDENTIFICATION IS DOUBTFUL

*King Bahal*⁷²:

Ibn Rusta quotes Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq who relates: "Of the kings in Hind with whom I had transactions there is none like the king of Bahal to spend money on drink."

King of Elephants—the King of Hind:

Abū Zayd relates the story of an Arab⁷³ who went to China and had an interview with the Chinese Emperor. In the course of the talk, the Emperor tells the Arab that in China they esteem five kings.⁷⁴ The fourth king is the King of Elephants, the King of Hind, whom the Chinese regard as the king of wisdom, for the origin of science is from Hind.

72. البجل

73. Ibn Wahab, a descendent of Habbār, son of Aswad, was a Qurayshī and a resident of Baṣra. He left that city during the invasion of the leader of the Zanj and came to Sirāf where he saw a ship ready to sail for China. He decided to travel for China and boarded the ship. In due course he reached Khamdān. There he stayed a long time, presenting petitions to the Emperor of China wherein he said that he was of the family of the Prophet of Arabia. Eventually the Emperor gave him audience. In the course of the interview he asked him among many other things, particulars about the Arabs, and how they had destroyed the kingdom of the Persians. The Emperor was very much pleased with the Arab and gave him many rich presents. Then Ibn Wahab returned from China. Abū Zayd met this Arab at Sirāf and learnt from him all details. Abū Zayd, p. 77.

74. The first in rank is the ruler of 'Irāq, the king of kings, then the king of China, then the king of Turks, then the king of Elephants, king of Hind, then the king of Rūm.

Mas'ūdī gives practically the same information as *Abū Zayd*, the only variation relevant to our point being that *Mas'ūdī* does not mention *Ibn Wahab* by name but refers to him simply as a man of Qurayshite origin, of the family of *Habbār*, son of *Aswad*.

Mas'ūdī acknowledges his source of information, saying that *Abū Zayd Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd of Sīrāf* gave him an account of *Ibn Habbār of Baṣra*, in 303 A.H. (915 A.D.).

*King Najāba*⁷⁵:

The name of the king *Najāba* is mentioned by *Ibn Rusta* just after *Tāfin*. *Najāba* is a noble king, and there is intermarriage between his family and that of the *Balharās*. They are *Salūqiyyas* سلوقيون and never marry except in their own community, because of their nobility. The breed of dog known as *Salūqiyya* سلوقية is from this country. Red sandal wood is found in their cities and forests.

*King Qayranj*⁷⁶:

Sulaymān says that after the kingdom of *Kāshbīn* comes the sea, and the land adjoining the sea is the territory of the king *Qayranj*.⁷⁷ He is a poor but proud king. The sea throws a large quantity of 'anbar. He has elephant tusks and pepper in his territory. The people eat pepper green because of the small quantity available there.

75. نَجَابَة

76. القيرنج Sulaymān.

الغرنج Barbier,—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 388 foot note on p. 403 says:

Le manuscrit L. porte الغنوج

77 *Kīranj*—*Elliot—Sulaymān*, Vol. I, p. 5.

Mas'ūdī mentions the king *Faranj*⁷⁸ after the king *Kāman*. *Faranj* has power both on land and sea. His territory is on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea from whence large quantities of 'anbar are obtained. The country produces a little pepper. The king has a large number of elephants. He is brave, vain and proud; but he has more vanity than power and more pride than courage.

*Qumar*⁷⁹ :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, *Ya'qūbī*, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Ibn Rusta*, *Abū Zayd*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Abul Faraj*, *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*, all these nine writers speak about *Qumār*.

Qumar—its position :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Proceeding from *Māyṭ* the island of *Tayūma* comes on the left; thence to *Qumār* five day's journey. From *Qumār* to *Ṣanf* on the coast is three days' journey.

Ya'qūbī mentions *Qumār* after *Sarandīb* and says that *Qumār* is a powerful kingdom of great importance.

Ibnul Faqīh has the remark that *Qumār* is part of *Hind*.

Abū Zayd gives more precise information. *Qumār*, he says, is not an island but is situated (on that part of the continent of India) which faces the country of the Arabs. It is opposite to the

78. The neighbour of the king *el-Kās* is the 'king of *el-Farbikh* الفرنج or الفتوح (*Kāmirūs*?) Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 393.

79. قمار *Abū Zayd*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Qazwīnī*, *Abul Faraj*.

قمار *Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Yāqūt*.

قمار *Ibn Rusta*.

kingdom of the Maharāj,⁸⁰ the island known as Zābaj, the distance between the two is about ten or twenty days' journey by sea in moderate wind.

Mas'ūdī has the same account with slight variation. The country of Qumār is not one of the islands of the sea but it is a coastal land and is mountainous. It is opposite to the kingdom of the Maharāj,⁸¹ the king of the islands like Zābaj, Kalah, Sarandib and other islands.

In another place⁸² Mas'ūdī says that Qumār is opposite to the islands of the Maharāj as Mandūrfīn is opposite to the island of Sarandīb.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī say that Qumār is a place in Hind associated with aloes. But Yāqūt qualifies his statement by saying that it is the popular view; those who have knowledge say that Qumār is Qāmirūn, a place in Hind, well known for best quality of aloes.⁸³ They say that this quality will have a seal by which it is distinguished.

Extent of the kingdom :

Ibnul Faqīh is the only writer who says that the extent of the kingdom of Qumār is about four months' journey.

Abū Zayd says that there is no kingdom which has a more dense population than Qumār. Here everyone walks on foot.

80. "Le Comar est dans la direction du royaume Maharadja." Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, p. 97.

81. "Il est sur le chemin des Etats du Maharaja." Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 170.

82. Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, Vol. I, p. 394.

83. This detail of news given by Yāqūt appears to be a mistake. He is confusing Qāmirūn (Assam) with Qumār.

People :

Mas'ūdi gives more particulars about the people of Qumār. He says a race of the people of Hind who descended from Ādam, derive their origin from the children of Cain. They inhabit that part of Hind which is called Qumār.

Few parts in Hind are more populous than this and the inhabitants distinguish themselves before other people of Hind by their agreeable breath, which they acquire by rubbing their teeth with tooth stick,⁸⁴ as it is the habit among the Muslims.

The inhabitants of Qumār mostly go on foot because their country is full of mountains and valleys, few plains and table lands.

Ibnul Faqīh says that the people of Qumār worship idols.

Ibn Rusta has the remark that the origin of devotees is from Qumār. It is said that there are in Qumār one hundred thousand devotees.

Abul Faraj states on the authority of Abū Dulaf that there is a temple belonging to the people of Hind at Qumār whose walls are of gold and its ceiling of aloes wood, each beam being fifty cubits or more in length.

Drinking and Fornication :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibnul Faqīh, Ibn Rusta, and Qazwīnī say that drinking and fornication are unlawful in the kingdom of Qumār.⁸⁵

84. سواك

'With aloes wood,' Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 186.

85. For details of punishment prescribed by the king of Qumār and administration of justice, see Chapter II, in this book.

Abū Zayd gives the same information as Ibn Khurdādhbeh and others, but has the additional remark that there is no wine in their land and kingdom.

Ibn Rusta quotes Abū ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq who says “I happened to go to the city of the king of Qumār and stayed there for two years. I found no monarch more zealous and severe than he against the vice of drinking. He punishes with death those who drink or commit fornication.”

Mas‘ūdī relates that the inhabitants of Qumār consider, like the Muslims, fornication to be unlawful and they avoid (like them) uncleanness and wine. In the observance of this custom they are one with the rest of the people in Hind.

King :

Ya‘qūbī says that the king of Qumār receives homage from many other kings.

Ibnul Faqīh remarks that the king of Qumār maintains four thousand slave girls.

Ibn Rusta quotes a traveller who says : “I had been to the city of the king of Qumār. I was told that the king of Qumār is a powerful man, very severe in his punishment. He has no dealings with the Arabs. Whoever enters his city and makes a present of anything to him, he returns it in a hundredfold of what he gave. I have never seen a king who gives greater reward than the king of Qumār. The king has eighty sons, all beautiful and with a dignity and bearing suited to their rank.”

The king of Qumār, in spite of his rigour, would say to his companions, “When you set out for war, do not take women with you.”⁸⁶

86. As the text seems to be faulty I do not attempt to translate the succeeding passage in the text. See Ibn Rusta, p. 133, ll. 18-19.

Abū Zayd says that the king of Qumār and his companions carry tooth brushes and every man cleans his teeth several times a day. Each one carries his own brush on his person and never parts from it unless he entrusts it to his servant.

Abū Zayd and Mas'ūdī give the following long account⁸⁷ of the story of an invasion of Qumār by the Maharāja, the king of Zābaj.

One of the most curious stories of the kings of Hind and a strange example of their line of conduct and their institutions in ancient times is exhibited in this narration. It is told that a young and hasty man ruled over Qumār in ancient times. One day he sat on the throne in his palace which stood on a large river of sweet water like the Tigris and the Euphrates, and was one day's journey from the sea. The wazīr was with the king who said to him : "The fame of the empire of the Maharāj, his power and prosperity and the number of islands under him are celebrated. This excites a desire in my mind which I wish to realise." The wazīr, a prudent man, who knew the rashness of his master, asked him, "What is thy desire, O! king?" "I wish," replied the king, "to see the head of the Maharāj, the king of Zābaj, in a basin before me." The wazīr saw that envy had inspired him with these thoughts and he said, after some consideration: "I do not think the king will permit this idea to rest in his mind as there has never existed any difference between us and that nation, neither of yore nor of late, nor have they ever done us any harm. Besides they are in islands, far from us, and by no means neighbours, nor have they any design against our possessions. The distance between the dominions of the Maharāj and those of Qumār is from ten to twenty days across the sea. It is therefore better, O! king," continued the wazīr, "not to acquaint anyone with this thought and not to persist in this scheme."

87. There is great similarity between the accounts of the two writers. The translation is done from the text of Mas'ūdī.

The king was enraged and shut his ears to advice. He acquainted his officers and the chiefs of his men who were present, with his project, and so it was divulged and went from tongue to tongue till it reached the Maharāj who was a prudent, experienced and middle-aged man.

He called his wazīr, and told him what he had heard, and said to him: "Considering the project of this ignorant man which has come to publicity, and the intentions which he has formed with his inexperienced and overbearing spirit, and after his words have become generally known, we can no longer preserve peace with him. He has forfeited the crown and deserves to be deposed." The king commanded him to hide what had passed between them and to prepare a thousand medium-sized ships with full equipment, to provide them with the arms necessary and to man them with a sufficient number of the best soldiers. He pretended that these preparations were meant for an excursion into his islands, and he wrote to the kings of these islands who were under his sway, and his subjects, that he had the intention of paying them a visit and of making an excursion to their islands.

This rumour spread and the king of every island made all possible preparations for the reception of the Maharāj. When everything was ready and in order, he went on board, and sailed with the army to the kingdom of Qumār. The king of Qumār was not aware of the expedition before it came up to the river which led to the royal palace. The Maharāj defeated his army, took his commanders by surprise and captured the palace. The inhabitants appeared before the Maharāj. He ordered "quarter" to be proclaimed, and sat on the throne on which the king of Qumār used to sit, who was now a prisoner, and commanded to bring the king and his wazīr into his presence.

He said to the king: "What gave rise to these intentions which are beyond your power? Had you attained them you would have

had no luck in them, no hope of success compelled you to do this." He remained silent.

"If your desire," continued the Maharāj, "to see my head before you in a dish had been joined with the intention of making yourself master of my dominions and the throne, and of spreading destruction in any part of the country, I should do the same thing to you. But you have distinctly expressed your object, and I will do it on you, and I will return to my country without stretching my hand to anything in your kingdom whether small or great; that you shall be an example for posterity, that none may transgress the portion Providence has given to him, and that he may gain safety from the existence of this warning."

Then he beheaded him. Turning to the wazīr, he said: "May you be rewarded with good as a wazīr! I know you gave your lord advice. Would that he had taken it! Consult who may be most fit to succeed this ignorant man and put him on the throne."

The Maharāj returned immediately to his country, and neither he nor anybody of his army touched anything in the kingdom of Qumār.

When the Maharāj returned to his dominions, he sat on his throne, overlooking the bay, called the bay of the ingot of gold, and before him was placed the dish with the head of the king of Qumār. He assembled the great men of his kingdom, narrated to them his exploits, and the reason which had brought him under the necessity of undertaking them. The subjects prayed for his welfare and for good reward from the Almighty.

Then he gave orders to wash the head of the king of Qumār, to embalm it and to send it in a vase to the king who had succeeded him in Qumār and he wrote to him: "The motive of our treatment of your predecessor was his evil-intentions against us, and our desire to teach those like him. We have done to him what he wanted, and we think it fit to send his head back to you as there is no use in keeping it, for this trophy would not add to the glory of our victory."

The news of this action reached the ears of the kings of Hind and China and the Maharāj rose greatly in their estimation, and since that time, the kings of Qumār turn their faces every morning towards Zābaj, and prostrate themselves to express their veneration for the Maharāj.

R. Of the nine writers who mention Qumār, only three give precise details as to its location. The information of Ibn Khurdādhbeh shows clearly that Qumār is an island between Jāba and Ṣanf. The accounts of Abū Zayd and Mas'ūdī indicate that it must refer to the area round about Cape Comorin including the portion of Travancore south of Quilon. The details furnished by the remaining six writers are vague.

It is also clear that these authors confuse Qumār with other places. Yāqūt confuses Qumār with Qāmarūn (Assam). Both Abū Zayd and Mas'ūdī narrate at great length, what appears to be a legend of an invasion of Qumār territory by the Mahārāja of Zābaj (Java) for the purpose of punishing the king of Qumār who spoke ill of the Mahārāja. This Mahārāja may be identified with one of the rulers of the line of Śrī Bhōja Mahārāja, ruler of Java mentioned by I-Tsing, a Chinese traveller in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., who speaks of the Mahārāja of Jāva, in whose court he lived for some years. If Qumār is the area round about Cape Comorin, the king of Qumār must refer to one of the Pāṇḍya kings. But as the invasion of the Pāṇḍyan territory by an island king is not attested by facts of history, the account, is without doubt, a mistake or confusion on the part of these two writers. Perhaps they might have confused Qumār with Khumayr (Cambodia).

The subject requires further investigation.

CHAPTER IV

INTRODUCTION

Almost all the writers give information on the products of Southern India except Sulaymān and Abul Faraj, authors of the first group. They mention about thirty kinds of products. Of the places discussed in Chapter I—Geography, twenty-seven cities are associated with one or more products :

Thirteen articles of trade are associated with Kawlam ; twelve with Sandān ; eight with Saymūr ; five with Sūbāra ; four with Kanja ; three with Bullīn and Tāna ; two with Broach, Pantalāyini and Madura and one thing only with each of the remaining seventeen places.

Thus the main centres of trade appear to have been Kawlam, Sandān, Saymūr and Sūbāra on the west coast and Kanja and Madura on the east coast of India.

The chief commodities are rice and pepper, associated with eight places, bamboos with six, cocoanuts with five, bananas and teak with three.

It may be noticed in this connection that the important trade centres of Southern India, deduced from the Arab accounts, happen to be more or less the same frequented by the Greek and the Roman merchants in ancient times.

LIST OF PRODUCTS

Aloe :

Seven writers—Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*, *Ya'qūbī*, *Abū Zayd*, *Mas'ūdī*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*,—describe various qualities of aloes.

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh* mentions (1) *Hindī aloe*, (2) *Qumārī aloe*, (3) *Şanfī aloe*, and (4) *Qāmarūnī aloe*.

Leaving *Māyṭ* which is not very far from *Jāba*, the island of *Tayūma* is reached, where *Hindī aloe* is available. From *Tayūma* to *Qimār* is five days' journey where *Qumārī aloe* is procured. From *Qimār* to *Şanf* on the coast three days' journey. *Şanfī aloe* obtained here is better than the *Qumārī aloe* for it sinks in water because it is good and heavy.

Qāmarūnī aloe : See under *Samandar*.

Ya'qūbī mentions (1) *Qumārī aloe*, (2) *Qāqullī aloe*, (3) *Şanfī aloe*.

Qumārī aloe (is a quality) which is full grown and well-soaked in abundant water.

After *Qāqullī¹ aloe* ranks the *Şanfī aloe*, imported from the town *Şanf* in the direction of *China*. *Şanfī aloe* is a good quality preserving its smell on clothes. There are some who hold it more excellent than *Qāqullī aloe*, and think that it has a more pleasant smell, clinging and safe from attracting others by its odour. There are also some who rank it above the *Qumārī aloe*.

Abū Zayd mentions *Qumārī aloe*, and *Hindī Qāmarūnī aloe*.

Qumārī aloe is exported from a place called *Qumār*.²

1. قاقلى

2. See under *Qumār*.

Some of the pilgrims to Multan carry with them *Hindī-Qāmarūnī aloe*.³ Qāmrūn is a city where they have an excellent quality of aloe wood which they bring as an offering to the idol and give it to the priests for the purpose of censuring the idol. This quality of aloe costs about two hundred *dīnārs* per *mann*. Often a seal is put upon this to distinguish it from other varieties. Generally the merchants purchase this quality of aloe from the priests.

Mas'ūdī says that from the kingdom of Qumār and the tract of Hind⁴ the *Qumārī aloe* has its name. It is exported from that place.

In another place⁵ he says that the greatest part of the revenue of the king of Multan comes from the rich presents of genuine *Qumārī aloe*, one *mann* of which is worth two hundred *dīnārs*, for it is so genuine that it receives the impression of seal like wax.

Idrīsī mentions aloe wood from Kārmūt.⁶

Yāqūt gives a few details about aloes and mentions different varieties such as (1) *Mandal-Qāmarūnī aloe*, (2) *Hindī aloe*, (3) *Qumārī aloe*, (4) *Ṣanfī aloe* and (5) *Saymūrī aloe*.

He says that generally aloes come from islands situated beyond the equator. No one has visited these plantations and hence no one knows how aloes are planted nor what the tree is. No one has described the shape of the aloes' leaves; the water brings them in the direction of the north. What is torn off and cast ashore is picked up fresh at Kalah, at Qāmarūn, or in the Country of pepper or at Ṣanf, or at Qamārayān, or at other places along the coast.

3. العود الهندى القامرونى p. 130.

4. صقح من ارض الهند Barbier, p. 168.

5. Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 376.

6. See under Samandar.

When the north wind blows the aloes, which retain their freshness and never wither are known as *Mandalī Qāmarūnī aloes*.⁷

The aloe which dries in the sea and is thrown ashore in a withered condition is known as *Hindī aloe*. It is solid and heavy. To put it to test, it is filed and thrown upon water; if it does not sink in water, it is not choice quality. If it sinks in water, it is pure quality and there is nothing better than that.

Aloes which are dried where they are grown and are torn in the sea are called *Qumārī aloes*.

Those which decayed where they are grown and brought by the sea in the decayed condition are called *Ṣanfī aloes*.

In another place⁸ Yāqūt says that Ṣanf, a place in Hind or Sind, is associated with aloe. It is bad quality.

The kings along the shore take a tenth of the quantity of aloes from those who pick them up on the beaches.

Qazwīnī gives some of the general details on aloes mentioned by Yāqūt and distinguishes the varieties as (1) *Qumārī aloe*, (2) *Mandalī aloe* and (3) *Qāmarūnī aloe*, and (4) *Ṣanfī aloe*.

Qumār is associated with *Qumārī aloe*. It is the best quality.

The aloe obtained in Mandal⁹ is called *Mandalī aloe*. It does not grow there. No one has reached the place where it grows. They

7. الغود الرطب المعروف بالمندل القامروني

It appears that Yāqūt is mixing up Mandal a city, with Qāmarūn (Assam).

8. Yāqūt, *Marāṣid-al-iṭṭilā'* Vol. II, p. 169.

9. See under Mandal.

say it grows in islands beyond the equator. Water brings it to the north.

That which falls off when it is tender, and retains its freshness, when the north wind blows on it, it is called *Qāmarūnī aloe*.

That which is dry and cast ashore in that condition is *Mandalī aloe*. It is heavy and hard. If the aloe sinks in water, it is the best quality and nothing is superior to it.

Ṣanf, a city in Hind or China is associated with aloe, but the *Ṣanfī aloe* is of a most inferior quality. There is very little difference between this and ordinary wood.¹⁰

Aloe wood is also brought to Kūlam from islands beyond the equator where no one has ever gone and seen the tree. Water brings it towards the north.

Of the various qualities of aloe mentioned by these authors, *Qumārī aloe*, *Mandalī aloe*, and *Saymūrī aloe* have direct bearing upon the present study while other details on aloe are brought in to show the contrast that prevails between the different varieties.

Six out of the seven writers mention *Qumārī aloe*. Ibn Khurdādhbeh states that it is inferior to *Ṣanfī aloe*¹¹ and Ya'qūbī also has the same view though it is based on the opinion of a few. But Mas'ūdī and Qazwīnī say that *Qumārī aloe* is the best quality. Abū Zayd has no remark on its quality, while Yāqūt describes what *Qumārī aloe* is without comparing it with other varieties of aloe.

10. The same information is given by Yāqūt—*Mu'jam-al-Buldān*, Vol. III, p. 429.

11. According to Yāqūt and Qazwīnī, *Ṣanfī aloe* is of inferior quality.

It appears from Ibn Khurdādhbeh that *Qumārī aloe* is obtained from a place called Qumār situated between Jāba and Ṣanf. Ya'qūbī who describes the *Qumārī aloe* does not mention the place where it is obtained. Mas'ūdī and Abū Zayd definitely say that *Qumārī aloe* is obtained from Qumār, a part of the continent of India. Yāqūt and Qazwīnī merely state that *Qumārī aloe* is obtained from Qumār, a place in Hind. As it is not possible from the several accounts of these writers to locate Qumār, it becomes difficult to say definitely what these authors meant by the term *Qumārī aloe*, whether it is obtained in Khumayr (Cambodia) or Qāmarūn (Assam) or in the area round about Cape Comorin, where even in the present day, as in the past, a large quantity of aloe is obtained. It is also noteworthy that the Tamil word *kumari* (கும்ரி) means 'wild aloe'.

Mandalī aloe is mentioned by only two writers Yāqūt and Qazwīnī, though the former mixes it up with *Qāmarūnī aloe*. Yāqūt describes what a *Mandalī aloe* is without mentioning the place where it is obtained, while Qazwīnī definitely says that *Mandalī aloe* is obtained in a city called Mandal, without giving any indication of its locality. Qazwīnī also has given a description of the *Mandalī aloe* which does not tally with that of Yāqūt.

Saymūrī aloe is mentioned only by Yāqūt.¹²

'Anbar¹³ :

Ya'qūbī, Abū Zayd, and Mas'ūdī give information on 'anbar.

12. See under Saymūr.

R. For details about different varieties of aloe see *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. I, pp. 179-189.

13. عنبر Ambergris.

Ya'qūbī describes how the 'anbar is obtained and mentions various kinds¹⁴ of it, including 'anbar-hindī.

They say that the 'anbar comes from the sea. It is as big as the size of a camel or of a big rock.... It is cut up by the wind and violence of the waves, and thrown on the coast. It will be boiling fiercely and none could approach it on account of the severity of heat and boiling. After a lapse of time wind beats on it and it becomes solidified. Then the people on the adjoining coastal land collect it. A number of men who know about 'anbar reported to me as follows :

The 'anbar is in mountains in the depths of the sea, and is of different colours. It is uprooted by wind and severe agitation of the sea during the winter season.... The 'anbar-hindī is procured from the coast.¹⁵ This 'anbar is exported to Baṣra and other places. The 'anbar-zanjī ranks after the 'anbar-hindī; it resembles the 'anbar-hindī and comes very near it. This is how Tamīmī has related in his book.¹⁶ He places 'anbar-zanjī after the 'anbar-shuḥrī, but he again ranks it after the 'anbar-hindī.

14. (a) 'Anbar-shuḥrī (the best quality)—procured on the coast of Shuḥr.

(b) 'Anbar-samakī—obtained through a fish.

(c) 'Anbar-manāqirī—obtained through *khattāf* a kind of sparrow.

(d) 'Anbar-zanjī—that which comes from the country of Zanj to Aden.

(e) 'Anbar-shalāḥīṭ and

(f) 'Anbar-qūqullī.

15. The text reads *سواحل الهند الداخلة*. Perhaps it might have been a technical term current among the Arabs.

16. *جيب الخروس*

It is said that the 'anbar which comes from Hind is called Karkbālūs,¹⁷ associated with the name of a community known as Karkbālūs. They carry it to some place near 'Umān where the captains of ships buy it from them.

Abū Zayd has a few details on the origin of 'anbar and describes some qualities¹⁸ which do not comprise any special variety associated with Hind.

17. **الكركد بالوس** This name is not to be found in "Castes and Tribes of Southern India." But the word may be explained as follows: The first part is, doubtless, the Tamil *Karai* (கரை) 'coast' out of which many words are formed such as *Karaiyālan* (கரையாளன்) (ruler of the coast) a title of the *maravans*; *Karayān* (கரையாளன்) a name for Tamil fishermen who live on the coast, etc. The latter part *bālūs* seems to be connected with *Pāl* (பால்) a word with a wide meaning in the Tamil language. The chief meanings are 'milk, matter, fluid in pustules, etc.' Here it may be taken to mean 'matter'. Both the parts put together may be understood "the matter found on the coast". This may be ambergris as it is generally found floating on the surface of the sea along the coast. Thus Karkbālūs of the Arabs seems to be a combination of *Karai* and *Pāl*, though its formation is against the ordinary rules of Tamil Grammar. *Ambar* (அம்பர்) is used in Tamil to denote ambergris, and there is no word in the Dravidian languages, so far as I am aware, as Karkbalus, meaning either Ambergris or denoting the name of a community which deals in that. Perhaps the word 'Karkbālūs' originally, at some remote time, meant ambergris, and in the course of constant intercourse with the Arabs and other foreigners the original expression fell out of use giving place to the foreign idiom. The point needs further investigation.

18. (1) *First quality of 'anbar*: It is found on the Berberian coast, territory of Zanj, and along the coast of *Shuhr*. It is oval in shape and blue in colour.

(2) *Whale 'anbar*: It is obtained through whale, the quality of which is determined by its contiguity to the belly of the whale.

'*Anbar* is a substance from the sea, thrown along the coast by waves. It commences from the sea of Hind but it is not definitely known whence it comes.

Mas'ūdī after describing some qualities¹⁹ of '*anbar*, says that several merchants, at *Sīrāf* and '*Umān*, who had travelled to the island between the sea of *Harkand* and the sea of *Lārawī* told me that the '*anbar* grows in the bottom of this sea and is of various sorts as there are different kinds of resin.²⁰ It is white, black and of dark bay colour.²¹

Bamboo :

(a) *Qannā :*

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*, *Dimishqī* and *Abūl Fidā* give information on *Qannā*.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: See under *Kawlam* (*Mulay*), *Sandān* and *Ūtkīn*.

Mas'ūdī and *Dimishqī*: See under *Barūṣ*.

19. (1) *The best quality*: It is found on the coast of *Shuhr*, on the islands and coasts of *Zanj*.

(2) *Whale 'anbar*: It is obtained through whale, the purity of its quality depends upon its contiguity to the belly of the whale.

20. قطر gum-resin. Sprenger translates the word as '*Agalloche*' (*Agalloch*). Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 350.

21. The text has الكميات. The correct word is الكميت a red colour mixed with blackness.

'Spongy,' Sprenger—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 350.

'Champignons' Barbier—*Mas'ūdī*, p. 336.

R. For details about *amberggris*, see *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, Vol. I, p. 217.

Idrīsī: See under Kūlī (Daybul), Sandān, Saymūr and Tāna.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī: *Qannā* grows in abundance in Kūlam.²²

Abul Fidā: See under Sandān and Tāna.

(b) *Khayzurān*:*

Idrīsī, Yāqūt, Qazwīnī and Abul Fidā mention *Khayzurān*.

Idrīsī: See under Sandān.

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī: *Khayzurān* grows in abundance in Kūlam.

Abul Fidā: See under Sandān.

(c) *Ṭabāshīr*: †

The same authors who mention *Khayzurān* speak of *Ṭabāshīr*.

Idrīsī: *Ṭabāshīr* is extracted from the roots of *qannā*.²³ The *ṭabāshīr* is adulterated by mixing it with the burnt bones of elephants, but the real article is extracted from the roots of the Indian *qannā*, called *sharkī*,²⁴ as we have already said.

22. See also under Mandarī.

* خیزران Indian bamboo. Muḥammad Sharaf, *An English Arabic Dictionary of Medicine and allied Sciences*, p. 120.

† طباشیر

23. See under Tāna.

24. شرکی

Yāqūt: In the forest,²⁵ when bamboos become dried up, and the wind blows on them, they rub against each other, excessive heat is produced by friction, and they catch fire and burn. Sometimes the fire consumes an area of about fifty parasangs or more of the forest.

The *ṭabāshīr*, taken from these bamboos is exported to all parts of the world. One *mithqāl* (in weight) of the best quality will equal one hundred *mithqāl* (of gold) or more.²⁶ *Ṭabāshīr* is a substance got from the hollow of the bamboo, when it is shaken. It is very precious. The adulterated quality of *ṭabāshīr* is carried to all parts and sold as *tūtiya hindī*,²⁷ but it is not so, for the real *tūtiya-hindī* is the sublimate of *qala'ī* lead.²⁸ The quantity brought out every year is three or four *mann*, not exceeding five *mann*. One *mann* of that stuff will be sold from five thousand *dirham* to one thousand *dīnārs*.

Qazwīnī: After describing under Mandūrqīn, how the bam-

25. See under Mandarī.

26. فاما الطباشير الجيدة انذى يساوى مثقاله مائة مثقال او اكثر
Yāqūt, Vol. III, p. 455.

27. See Yāqūt, Vol. III, p. 455.

28. لان التوتيا الهندى هو دخان الرصاص القلعي
Yāqūt, Vol. III, p. 455.

الرصاص القلعي Tin. See Dozy, s.v.

boos catch fire,²⁹ he says that *ṭabāshīr* is the cinders of the bamboos that were burnt, and is exported to all countries.

Abul Fidā : See under Tāna.

29. The description is the same as given by Yāqūt.

R. قَنَا or قَنَّة ferule.....

شَبِيْمَةٌ فِي شَكْلِهَا بِالْقَنَا وَهِيَ الْكَلْحُ
الْقَنَا وَهِيَ الْكَلْحُ

p. 414 Dozy

Communis (Latin)

Ferule (French)

Giant Fennel (English)

قَنَا - قَلْق - كَلْحُ

Dictionnaire des Noms des Plantes

par Dr. Ahmed Issa Bey.

Kanā قَنَا Ferula communis
German translation of *Ibn-al-Baytār* by
Dr. Joseph V. Sontheimer, Vol. II, p. 326.

Rohtang—French translation De Goeje—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, p. 43.

All these authorities have translated the word *qannā* as 'ferule' and 'rotang'. But it is a mistake, for the Arab writers say definitely that *ṭabāshīr* is got from *qannā*. As *ṭabāshīr*, a siliceous and crystalline substance, is found in the interior of the hollow stems of some bamboos, chiefly *bambusa arundinaceae*, *qannā* must mean a kind of bamboo. The Tamil word, in Watt's *Economic Products of India*, for *ṭabāshīr* is *mūṅgaluppu* (முங்கலுப்பு) (*mūṅgal*=bamboo+*uppu*=salt). Thus it is clear that *qannā* must be translated as a kind of bamboo. The description of *qannā* forests by Yāqūt supports this view.

It may also be noticed that *qannā* does not appear to be an Arabic word. It might have had its origin from the Hindi word *gannā* گنا Prakrit *gandaō*, and Sanskrit *gandaka*—sugarcane, *saccharum officinarum*; a reed, a cane. See Platts, *Hindustanī Dictionary*.

For an account of the various species of bamboo and the history and variety of *ṭabāshīr*—see Watt, *Economic Products of India*, Vol. I, pp. 370-394.

Banana :

Iṣṭakhrī, *Ibn Ḥawqal*, *Maqdisī* and *Idrīsī* give information on Banana.

Iṣṭakhrī group : See under Sandān and Saymūr.

Idrīsī : See under Bullin, (Island Baliq.)

*Baqqam tree*³⁰ (Brazil wood) :

Idrīsī, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī* and *Abul Fidā* speak of the *baqqam* tree.

Idrīsī : The *baqqam* tree³¹ grows in abundance in Lūluwā and Kanja.³² The plant of this tree resembles oleander.³³

Yāqūt : The *baqqam* tree grows in Kūlam. There are two kinds of it; one is of inferior quality, the other called *amrūn*³⁴ is excellent.

Qazwīnī : In Kūlam the *baqqam* tree grows in abundance.

30. شجرة البقم Brazil wood (Caesalpina).

Muhammad Sharaf, *Arabic-English Dictionary*.

البقم Yāqūt.

Compare : Persian—Bakam

Hindi—Bakkam

بکام
بکام

31. 'Sapan wood'—Elliot, Vol. I, p. 90.

32. See under Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja.

33. د فلي Idrīsī Bod. Mss.

34. الامرون

Abul Fidā: The *baqqam* tree is found in Kawlam. It resembles the pomegranate tree³⁵ and its leaves are like those of the jujube tree.³⁶

*Camphor*³⁷:

Yāqūt: Camphor is found on the slope of a mountain between Kūlam and Mandūrqīn (Madura). Camphor is the pulp of the tree. If the tree is split in the middle, the camphor will be found hidden in it. Sometimes it is soft, sometimes hard, for it is a resin in the heart of the tree.

Qazwīnī: Camphor is exported from Fayṣūr.³⁸ It is the best quality. It is said that camphor is found in large quantities in the years when there is much thunder, lightning and earthquake. In less tempestuous years the camphor is found in smaller quantities.

They say that the camphor tree grows on the slope of the mountain of Kāfūr. The tree is split and camphor is taken from inside. It is a gum of that tree not found except in its inside. If the bark is injured the camphor will flow from inside; if it is cleft, great pieces may be obtained from the interior, but the tree will wither and die.

*Cardamom*³⁹:

Idrīsī: Cardamom grows in the mountain north of

35. شجرة الرمان

36. مُنَّاب (Rhamnus Zizyphus).

37. كافور The Arabic form of P. Kāpūr, S. Karpūr.
Tam. Karpūram (கற்பூரம்)

38. See under Fayṣūr.

39. قاقلة

R. For a description of the plant and its varieties see Watt,

Fandarīna⁴⁰ (It grows like the grains of hemp and the grains are enclosed in pods.)⁴¹

*Cinnamon*⁴²:

Yāqūt and Qazwīnī give information about cinnamon. See under Jājulla.

*Clove*⁴³:

Ya'qūbī: Cloves are of one genus. The best and the most

40. See under Fandarīna.

41. The sentence is taken from Elliot's translation, Vol. I, p. 90. Idrīsī's Mss. are not quite clear. The text reads thus:

ونبات القاقلة يكون أشبه الأشياء بنبات النداخ

وبها مرارد فيها بزرها Idrīsī, Poc. 375.

الشهداخ Gr. 45.

شمراخ B. N. Paris.

ولها مزارع فيها بزوها Gr. 45.

ولها مزراود فيها بزرها B. N. Paris.

42. شجرة الدارصيني

R. دارصيني is from the Hindī word *dār-chīnī*, S. *dāru-chīniya*; *dāru*=bark (lit.) wood=timber, *chīniya*, from China. For particulars see Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. 2, pp. 317-326.

43. قرنفل

R. Platts, in his *Hindustani Dictionary* says that *qaranful* is the arabicized form of a Greek word. But the Tamil word for clove is *kirāmbu* கிரம்பு. It is not easy to say whether the Arabs got the word from the Greeks or Tamils. It is more likely that the Greeks and Arabs might have got the word from the Tamils.

excellent kind is the *zuhr* زهر which is strong, arid, dry, sharp, pungent to taste and sweet to smell. Some of it is *zuhr*; some of it is *thamr* تمر. The *zuhr* of it is small and resembles in appearance the twigs of black hellebore.⁴⁴ The *thamr* of it is thick and resembles the kernel of the date or the olive.⁴⁵ It is said that it is the fruit of a big tree resembling the lote tree.⁴⁶

They report that it is exported from Sufālat-al-Hind (Sūbāra) and its further regions.⁴⁷

Cocoanuts⁴⁸:

Īṣṭakhrī, *Ibn Ḥawqal*, *Maqdisī* and *Idrīsī* mention cocoanuts.

Īṣṭakhrī group: See under Sandān and Saymūr.

Idrīsī: See under Bullīn (Island Balīq), Lūlū, Kanja, Sandān (Island of Sandān), Saymūr, Sūbāra (Island Tāra).

***Costus*⁴⁹:**

Idrīsī and *Abul Fidā* mention *Costus*.

Idrīsī: See under Sūbāra.

Abul Fidā: See under Sandān.

44. الخربق الاسود

45. نوى النمر او مجمر الزيتون

46. شجر السدي

47. من بلاد سقالة الهند واقاصيها

48. نارجيل

49. قسط Comp. Bengali, Kūst.

} Ya'qūbī, *Fragmenta*, p. 369.

For particulars on *Costus*, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*; Vol. II, p. 611 and Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products*, p. 579, Vol. II.

*Crystal*⁵⁰:

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: Crystal is obtained from Mulay and Sandān.⁵¹

*Date Tree*⁵²:

Sulaymān: See under 'Fruits.'

Ibnul Faqīh: There are no date palms in China and Hind.

Idrīsī: See under Sandān (Island Sandān).

Fabrics—Lānas,⁵³ *Tānshiyya*⁵⁴:

Abul Fidā: See under Ma'bar and Tāna.

*Fruits*⁵⁵:

Sulaymān and *Idrīsī* speak of fruits.

Sulaymān: There are no date trees either in China or in Hind, but they have other trees and fruits which we do not have. There are no grapes⁵⁶ in Hind, but the Chinese have a few. They have other kinds of fruits in plenty. But in Hind pomegranate⁵⁷ is the commonest.

50. بلور from Persian بلور Beryl, Crystal.

51. See de Goeje—*Ibn Khurdādhbeh*, foot note (a) p. 71.

52. النخل Idrīsī, Bod. Mss.

53. لانس

54. ثياب التاشيه

55. ثمر Sulaymān

فاكهة Idrīsī

56. عنب

57. الرمان

Idrīsī : See under Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja.

Honey⁵⁸:

Iṣṭakhrī, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* : See under Sandān and Saymūr.

Mango⁵⁹:

Iṣṭakhrī, *Ibn Hawqal* and *Maqdisī* mention mango. See under Sandān and Saymūr.

Mines—Sulphur,⁶⁰ Copper⁶¹ (*Tūtiya*)⁶².

Yāqūt : In Kūlam there is a mine of yellow sulphur and of copper. The coagulated vapour of copper makes excellent *tūtiya*. All kinds of *tūtiya* are obtained from the coagulated vapour of

58. عسل

59. انج

R. *Anbaj* is not an Arabic word as Steingass would have it in his *Persian-English Dictionary*. It is from the Hindi word *amba* अंबा mango. The modern Arabic word for mango is *manja* مانجو - منج and *mānjū*. It is taken directly or indirectly from the Tamil *māngāi* மாங்காய் (col.) *mānga*, மாங்கா. The modern Egyptian pronunciation of *manjah* is exactly like the Tamil *mānga*.

60. معدن الكبريت الأصفر

61. معدن النحاس

62. توتياء

Comp. H. *tutiya* S. *tuttha*. Tamil துத்தம் *tuttam*, blue vitriol, sulphate of copper *tutti*

copper except the Indian *tūtiya* which is obtained as we have said, from the sublimation of *qala'i* lead.⁶³

Qazwīnī mentions only the first two points of *Yāqūt*.

*Myrobalan*⁶⁴:

Yāqūt: A small quantity of myrobalan is obtained in *Kūlam*. But the myrobalan obtained in *Kabul* is better, for this city is far from the sea and all kinds of myrobalan are found there.

That which is scattered by the wind from ripe tree is yellow, sour and cold; that which is plucked from the tree in the proper season is called *kābūlī*; it is sweet and hot; that which is left in the tree during winter till it becomes black, is called *al-aswad*,⁶⁵ it is bitter and hot.

*Pearls : Diving Places*⁶⁶:

Idrīsī: See under *Sūbāra*.

Dimishqī: See under *Fūfal*.

Pepper :

Ibn Khurdādhbeh, *Ibnul Faqīh*, *Idrīsī*, *Yāqūt*, *Qazwīnī*; and *Dimishqī*—these six writers speak of pepper.

63. الرصاص القلعي

64. الهليلج

R. It is from Persian هليلجه *halīla*. S. *Haritak*, yellow myrobalan.

The Hindi word Halij هليج is a corruption of the P. *Halīla*.

65. الاسود

66. مناجس اللؤلؤ

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: See under Kawlam (Mulay).

Ibnul Faqīh, in the course of enumerating the articles that come from different places, says that pepper comes from Malī and Sandān.

Idrīsī: See under Fandarīna, Jurbatan, Kawlam (Malī), Sandān (Malaq).

Yāqūt: See under Fāknūr, and Malībār.

Qazwīnī: See under Malībār.

Dimishqī: See under Barūṣ Kawlam (Malī) and Manjarūr.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh gives the following description of the pepper plant. The navigators report that over every bunch of pepper is a leaf which protects it from the rain. When the rain stops, the leaf raises itself up. But when it rains again, it comes back.

Idrīsī gives the identical information quoting Ibn Khurdādhbeh,⁶⁷ and also has additional facts. The pepper plant is a shrub,

67. The following is the passage from the edition of de Goeje—Ibn Khurdādhbeh, p. 63.

وذكر البحر يرون ان على كل عنقود من عناقيه الغلغل ورقة تكتنه من المطر
فاذا انقطع المطر ارتفعت الورقة فاذا عاد المطر عادت

Idrīsī, who quotes Ibn Khurdādhbeh has the following passage:

حكى ابن خرداذبه ان هذه العايقه اذا كان المطر انخفضت ورقاته عليه
واكتنه من المطر فاذا ارتفع المطر ارتفعت الورقة عن العايقه فما تعاودها
الا في حين المطر فان عاد المطر عادت الورقة عليها

Idrīsī Bod. Mss. and B. N. Paris.

This may show that Idrīsī had a better copy of the text of Ibn Khurdādhbeh.

having a trunk like that of the vine,⁶⁸ the leaf is like the convolvulus,⁶⁹ but longer; it has bunches like those of the *shabūqa*,⁷⁰ each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf from the rain, and the pepper is plucked when it is ripe. White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen or even before.

Yāqūt quotes from Abū Dulaf who says: The pepper plant is a popular one⁷¹ in Malibār. Water is always under it. When the wind blows the crop falls down and shrivels. The pepper is collected from above water, and the king puts a tax on it. It is a free plant without an owner. It always bears a crop both summer and winter. It is in bunches. When the sun is hot, a number of leaves cover up the bunch so that it may not be scorched by the sun. When the sun goes off it, these leaves go off.

Qazwīnī says that the pepper plant is a creeper.⁷² There is no special owner. Water is always under it. Its fruit is in bunches. When the sun rises and grows hot the leaves get hold of the

68. عريش

69. لبلاب

70. شوقة

71. شمر عادي

72. شجرة عالية

R. Pepper plant is a creeper that winds round certain trees. It has leaves on either side of its stem. The bunches that bear fruit sprout between two leaves that grow one above the other on the same side. When it rains, the upper leaf, most exposed to the rain, gets wet, bends down by the weight of rain drops and rests on the bunch as it cannot bend farther and thus it appears to protect the bunch. The other leaf, below the bunch, also bends downward, but not too far as it is not very well exposed to rain drops. When the rain ceases the leaves get dry and resume their original position. Thus there is nothing surprising in this action of the leaves as

bunches, else the sun will scorch them before the fruit ripens. When the wind blows the bunches fall upon water and shrivel, and people collect them.

Abul Fidā: The pepper plant has bunches like those of the millet. Sometimes it winds round other trees like the pine.

Perfumes:

Idrīsī mentions aromatic plants.⁷³ See under Saymūr.

Dimishqī speaks of perfumes.⁷⁴ See under Kawlam (Malī).

*Rhubarb (Rheum):*⁷⁵

Yāqūt and *Qazwīnī* speak of rhubarb.

Yāqūt: Rhubarb of weak quality is obtained in Kūlam, while the better quality is from China. Rhubarb is a gourd⁷⁶ found

our authors make out to be. No harm will be done if the bunch is exposed to the sun or rain.

Yāqūt and *Qazwīnī* give a wrong description at the end of their accounts mixing the action of the leaves with the heat of the sun.

There is no particular variety as the white pepper. When the pepper is dried in the sun, the original green colour is changed into a sort of white colour.

73. نبات العطر *Idrīsī*—Bod. Mss.

74. انواع البهار والعنف *Dimishqī*, p. 159.

75. راوند *Yāqūt* and *Qazwīnī*.

Rheum (Gr.)=Rhubarb. رايوند - راوند - ريوند Muhammad Sharaf,
Arabic-English Dictionary of Medicine.

there. Its leaves are known as *al-Sāḍaj-al-Hindī*.⁷⁷ There is no cultivation in Kūlam except gourd from which rhubarb is obtained.⁷⁸ It is grown in the midst of thorny shrubs, and in like manner the melon⁷⁹ is cultivated. It is also excellent.

Qazwīnī has a few remarks that rhubarb is obtained in Kūlam. It is gourd that grows there. Its leaves, *al-Sāḍaj-al-Hindī* are held in high esteem as medicine for the eyes.

*Rice*⁸⁰ (*Corn*) (*Grain*):

Ibn Khurdādhbeh: See under Bābattan, Kanja, Samandar, Sinjlī and Kabashkān.

Iṣṭakhṛī group: See under Sandān and Saymūr.

Idrīsī: See under Bullīn (Island Baliq) ; Jurbatan, Kaylkān, Lawā and Kanja ; Kūlī (Daybul) Samandar, Sinjlī and Kabashkān.

77. سادج الهندى

78. ولا نزرع فيها الا القرع الذى فيه الواوند Vol. III, p. 457.

79. بطيخ

R. It is evident from the foregoing account that Yāqūt and Qazwīnī are mixing up rhubarb with gourd; the former is the root of a plant called rebas and the latter is the fruit of the pumpkin plant. For details about medicinal rhubarb see Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products*, pp. 485-8, and W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, Vol. II, p. 665.

80. حنطة . الارز . حَبّ

حنطة generally means wheat, sometimes corn. As wheat is not popularly grown in Southern India, the word is translated as corn and wheat, as it suits the context.

Sandal Wood :

Ibn Rusta mentions red sandal wood.⁸¹ See under *Najāba*.

Yāqūt : See under *Mandarī*.

*Sandarac*⁸² :

Yāqūt : A little sandarac of inferior quality is found in *Kūlam*. The better quality is found in *China*.⁸³ Sandarac resembles sulphur and is the most valuable of them.

Sandals—Kanbāyan :

Mas'ūdī : Creaking leather sandals are made in *Kanbāya*.⁸⁴

81. الصندل الأحمر *Ibn Rusta.*

صندل *Yāqūt.*

82. سندروس

83. The text has the following sentence in the middle which is obviously corrupt.

وهي عين تفتت على باب مدينتها الشرق (p. 455)

Yāqūt, Vol. III, p. 45.

R. Sandarac, a kind of resin, is said to resemble sulphur. There must be a mistake in the text.

84. النعال الكنبية الصرارة

"Laced Kanbayan shoes." Sprenger, p. 278.

Barbier gives the following translation : "....sur le territoire de la ville de Cambaye, celebre par ses sandales, nominees Sandales de Cambaye qui y sont d'usage, ainsi que dans les villes voisines....", Vol. I, pp. 253-4.

R. There are various kinds of sandals used in Southern India :

orradi-c-ceruppu,	ஒற்றடிச் செருப்பு	sandals without heels
kiriccu-c-ceruppu,	கறிச்சுச் செருப்பு	creaking sandals
kutti-c-ceruppu,	குத்திச் செருப்பு	sandals with thick soles
tōr-c-ceruppu,	தோற் செருப்பு	sandals with thin soles

and in the neighbouring towns like Sandān and Sūbāra. They are associated with the town of Kanbāya and known as Kanbayan sandals.

Stone Magnetised :

Yāqūt : Magnetised stone⁸⁵ is found in Kūlam. When it is heated by rubbing, it attracts all things.

There is also in Kūlam a kind of stone known as *sandāniyya*⁸⁶ used for roofing.

Teak الساج

Six writers mention teak.

Ibn Khurdādhbeh : See under Kamkam and Sandān.

Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta : See under Kamkam.

Idrīsī : See under Kamkam (Makamkam).

Yāqūt : The teak tree in Kūlam is huge and tall ; it exceeds one hundred cubits and more.

Qazwīnī gives the same information omitting the word 'huge'.

*Vases*⁸⁷ :

Yāqūt : Vases are made in Kūlam and sold in our countries as Chinese vases, but they are not Chinese, for the Chinese clay is harder than that and more fire resisting. The clay in this town from which they make vases resembles the Chinese clay. It is left

85. مغناطيس

86. الحجارة التي تعرف بالسندانية

87. فخاير

in the fire for three days and cannot be baked longer, while the Chinese clay rests in the oven for ten days and could be baked longer. Kūlam pottery is black in colour, but that which comes from China is white and of other colours, either translucent or not. It is manufactured in Persia from pebbles and *qala'ī* lime, and glass which is smashed up into a paste and blown and worked with pincers giving it the shape of drinking cups and other shapes.

Qazwīnī repeats the first point mentioned by Yāqūt and concludes with the remark that Kūlam vases are black in colour, while those of China are white and of other colours.

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APPENDIX A

Names of Arabic books and manuscripts consulted for compiling this work.

Name of the work	Author	Editor
1. <i>Silsilat-al-Tawārīkh</i> pp. 14-21, 26-32, 48-59.	Sulaymān	Langles
2. <i>Kitāb-al-Masālik wal-Mamālik</i> pp. 16, 39, 61-64, 66-68, 71-72.	Ibn Khurdādhbeh	M. J. de Goeje Pars Sexta
3. <i>Ibn Wādhīh qui Dicitur al-Jaqubī Historiae</i> pp. 93, 106.	Ya'qūbī	M. Th. Houtsma Pars Prior
4. <i>Fragmenta</i> pp. 366-367, 369.	Ya'qūbī	M. J. de Goeje Pars Septima
5. <i>Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān</i> pp. 3, 11-16.	Ibnul Faqīh	M. J. de Goeje Pars Quinta
6. <i>Kitāb al-A'lāq al-Nafīsa</i> pp. 132-136, 138-139.	Ibn Rusta	M. J. de Goeje Pars Septima
7. <i>The second book of Silsilat al-Tawārīkh</i> pp. 60-61, 77-79, 93-101, 115-122, 126-130, 138-139, 145-147.	Abu Zayd	Langles
8. <i>Kitāb Murūj al-Dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawhar</i> pp. 72, 162-163, 167-175, 177-178, 207, 239, 253, 312, 314, 327-328, 335-336, 357, 372, 374, 376, 381-383, 388, 390-394.	Mas'ūdī	C. Barbier de Meynard Tome I.

Name of the work	Author	Editor
9. <i>Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik</i> pp. 170-173, 176-180.	Iṣṭakhrī	M. J. de Goeje Pars Prima
10. <i>Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik</i> pp. 226-228, 231-235.	Ibn Ḥawqal	M. J. de Goeje Pars Secunda
11. <i>Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taḳāṣīm fī ma'rifat al-aḳālīm</i> pp. 477, 486.	Maqdisī	M. J. de Goeje Editio Secunda 1906
12. <i>Kitāb al-Fihrist</i> pp. 346-349.	Abul Faraj	Gustav Flügel Book I 1871
13. <i>Kitāb fī Taḥqīqī mā lil Hindī min maqūlatin maqbūlatin fil aqlī aw mardhūlatin.</i>	Bīrūnī	Dr. Edward Sachau
14. <i>Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq</i> Ms. Poc. 375. Pp. 36, 43-47, 72-76, 78-80.	Idrīsī	Two Mss. One in the Bodleian Library, another in Biblio- theque Nationale, Paris
15. <i>Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān</i> Vol. I, pp. 505-506. Vol. III, pp. 429, 453-457. Vol. IV, p. 173.	Yāqūt	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld 1867
16. <i>Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'</i> Vol. II, pp. 169, 447.	Yāqūt	T. G. J. Juynboll
17. <i>Mushtariq</i> p. 358.	Yāqūt	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld

Name of the work	Author	Editor
18. <i>Kitāb āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ibād</i> pp. 53, 64, 68-70, 82, 84-85.	Qazwīnī	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld 1848
19. <i>Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-Makh-lūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt</i> p. 171.	Qazwīnī	Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 1849.
20. <i>Kitāb Nuḵḥbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wal Baḥr</i> pp. 19, 101, 159, 169-170, 172-174.	Dimishqī	M. A. F. Mehren Re-impression 1923
21. <i>Nihāyat-al-'Arab fī funūn al-adab</i>	Nuwayrī	Published by Darul-Kutub Cairo, 1933
22. <i>Kitāb Taqwīm al-Buldān</i> pp. 353-361.	Abul Fidā	M. Reinaud
23. <i>Voyages of Ibn Baṭṭūta</i>	Ibn Baṭṭūta	G. Defremery Tome IV 1858

The relevant portions in these works are translated by the author into English.

The translations of some of these works by Elliot and Sprenger have been consulted, and variations by way of correction or addition are generally noticed in the footnotes in the course of this work.

The English translation of the Ibn Baṭṭūta's travels in Asia and Africa by H. A. R. Gibb, is quoted for purposes of reference in this work.

As the volumes published so far of the works of Nuwayrī (d. 1332) contain only a few references to India, these are noticed in the footnotes in their proper places.

As the names of the Arabic authors are too long, only such portions of their names which are familiar to scholars are given throughout this book. Even the *al* is omitted before some of these abridged forms so that the reader may take to the names in an easy manner.

APPENDIX B

List of Places north of the Narbada river, India

Place		Name of authôr mentioning same
Aghbāb	..	Ibn Rusta.
Al-Arman	..	Ibn Rusta.
Asāwal	..	Ibn Ḥawqal, Idrīsī.
Barāz	..	Ibn Rusta.
Bazāna	..	Dimishqī.
Jālūr	..	Abul Fidā.
Janāwal	..	Ibn Ḥawqal, Idrīsī.
Jazrāt	..	Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.
Kābul	..	Yāqūt
Kanbāya	..	Ya'qūbī, Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Idrīsī, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.
Khabirūn	..	Idrīsī.
Kayr	..	Dimishqī.
Multān	..	Abu Zayd, Abul Faraj, Mas'ūdī, Iṣṭakhri, Maqdisī.
Mountains of the Balharā	..	Dimishqī.
Mountains of Qāmrūn	..	Abul Fidā.
Nahlwāra	}	Idrīsī, Abul Fidā.
Nahrwārah		
Anhilwara		
Nākūr	..	Abul Fidā.
Qāmuhal	}	Ibn Ḥawqal, Idrīsī.
Mamhal		

Place		Name of Author mentioning same
Qāmrūn	..	Abu Zayd, Yāqūt.
Qandahār	..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> .
Al-Qass	..	Dimishqī.
Qashmīr	..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> .
Rakla	..	Dimishqī.
Somnat	..	Yāqūt, Qazwīnī, Dimishqī, Abul Fidā.
Tayfand	..	Qazwīnī.
Wayhind	..	Maqdīsī.

APPENDIX C

List of Kings and Kingdoms north of the Narbada river, India.

King and Kingdom	Name of Author mentioning same
1. Ba'ūrah—King of Qannawj ..	Mas'ūdī.
2. King of Juzr ..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> , Sulaymān, Ibn Rusta, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī.
3. King of Kāman, al-Kās ..	Mas'ūdī.
4. Kingdom of Kāshbīn ..	Sulaymān.
5. Kingdom of Al- Māyad, al-Mābad ..	Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī.
6. Kingdom of Mūjah, Musha ..	Sulaymān, Ya'qūbī.
7. Kingdom of Qāmrūn ..	Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> .
8. Queen Rābiya of Ūrfasīn, Aghbāb ..	Ibn Rusta.
9. Kingdom of Rahmā ..	Sulaymān, Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> , Ya'qūbī, Ibnul Faqīh, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī.
10. Kingdom of Ṭāfan, Ṭāfaq ..	Sulaymān, Ibn <u>Khurdādhbeh</u> , Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rusta, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī.
11. Kingdom of Ṭarsūl ..	Ya'qūbī.

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